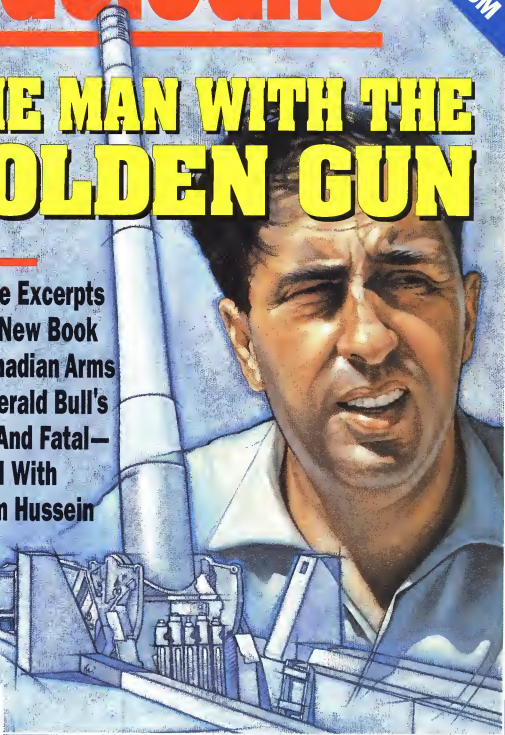


# Maclean's

## THE MAN WITH THE GOLDEN GUN

**Exclusive Excerpts  
From A New Book  
About Canadian Arms  
Dealer Gerald Bull's  
Secret—And Fatal—  
Deal With  
Saddam Hussein**





# B A I L E Y S

SMOOTH AS GLASS.



# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE APRIL 22, 1991 VOL. 106 NO. 16

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## COVER

### THE MAN WITH THE GOLDEN GUN

In the 1950s, Gerald Bull was working on a design for a Canadian guided missile. But by 1960, the visionary scientist had become a pariah in his homeland, his reputation tarnished by a conviction for selling arms to South Africa. Before his murder last year, Bull was attempting to build a supergun for Saddam Hussein. Exclusive excerpts from a new book paint a portrait of a fascinating man. — 44

## SPECIAL REPORT

### BILINGUALISM UNDER FIRE

In the midst of the national unity debate, Canada's policy of bilingualism is under renewed attack. And that is raising fears among anglophones in Quebec and francophones elsewhere that Ottawa may weaken its commitment to two official languages. Other language groups say that they feel left out. — 16



## WORLD

### A MOUNTAIN TERROR

Under growing domestic and international pressure, President George Bush announced a major relief effort to feed, shelter and protect 117 million Kurds and other Iraqi refugees. Canada, too, is taking part in the campaign, with supplies and personnel arriving this week. — 24









## LETTERS

### GOLDEN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Your article "Golden hat trick" was a wonderful and well-deserved tribute to Kurt Browning (Sports, March 28). It should not Canada's national newspaper let us know how our Canadian stars fared? Riva Stole made history leading his quad-double toe loop, and Josée Choinière placed fifth in the women's long program, which resulted in her being asked to join the Entertainment Weekly cover's list of champions. I think that there is some duty to mention Canadian accomplishments—whether a gold medal or a 20th-place finish.

In MacLean,  
Scott John, N.D.

In "Golden hat trick," you accurately attribute the disappointing second-place finish of Isabelle Brasseur and Lloyd Easter to the dropping of compulsory figures from the world skating championships. In fact, figures have never been required for pairs' events. In this regard, you missed an opportunity to comment on an interesting phenomenon. The prediction had been that the elimination of figures would make younger, more athletic skaters to emerge as world leaders much more quickly. That seems to have been the case in the ladies' event, since two of the three medal winners were virtual unknowns. But in the men's event, so far we have finished lower than sixth place in 1990 made it to the top five in 1991.

Gilda Spitz,  
Richmond Hill, Ont.

### KNOCKOUT CONTROVERSY

It is very easy to criticize boxing referee Richard Steele (Kurt Browning's latest defeat, Sports, April 11, but perception often distorts reality. I have little doubt that Steele had been refereeing the 1980 fight in Montreal that caused the death of Canada's Cleveland Disney. Disney would still be alive. As a former professional boxer, I respect with Steele's decision to stop the fight. I will cheer for Browning the next time he fights Mike Tyson. Thanks to Steele, there will be a next time.

Bob Murray,  
Shelburne, N.D.

### FLYING THEIR COLORS

While reading "Dances with Ours" (Times, March 28), I came across a strange line—"A 39-year-old blond stage manager from Toronto." Why the hair-color classification? It has become a joke at our office. We sometimes use the phrase "blonde receptionist," "blond singer," "dark-haired comedian" and "blond producer."

Lindsay Moore,  
Aurora, Ont.



Browning: a 'well-deserved tribute'

### A SELF-INTERESTED PEACE

Only Barbara Amiel would have the gall to equate self-interest with a high moral compass ("Big big money for Pse Amier," Column, April 12). If U.S. governments was kept about old interests, it is only because they are constantly creating new ones.

No action, however self-righteous, has as Amiel writes in her column, the "right to impose peace on the world in order to further its own self-interests." And has last solution for the Americas—"When you're in the trenches with them, buds, turned, you know your single bottle of water will still be there"—is wild and excessive. In my opinion.

B. J. Daniels,  
Calgary

Does Barbara Amiel know what the Americans have been up to in the past 20 years in Pakistan, Chile, El Salvador, Iran and Iraq? Does she realize that the Americans did their best to prevent democracy in order to protect their own interests, regardless of how brutal the regimes they were supporting might be? If Amiel would research these cases, maybe she would realize that liberty is not the only black mark on the American record—and the only one she seems to mention. Why exempt people in other parts of the world be allowed a chance at democracy, even if they might become as God forbid, their own interests?

Marion Sidley,  
Mississauga, Ont.

When an ethical and moral standard is involved, the only way to ensure that the standard is followed is to have a system of checks and balances. Let's hope the Ethics Commission suggests, Minister Poirer that the big big money for Pse Amier.

## PASSAGES

**RETIRED:** The outspoken and controversial president of the 150,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor, Robert LaBerge, 67, after 27 years in the post. A labor leader and recovering alcoholic, LaBerge will receive a diagnosis of the 9th's emotional head, which he contributed in 1984 to secure union members' jobs, and will act as an adviser to Premier Paré. He will receive a diagnosis of the 9th's emotional head, which he contributed in 1984 to secure union members' jobs, and will act as an adviser to Premier Paré. He will receive a diagnosis of the 9th's emotional head, which he contributed in 1984 to secure union members' jobs, and will act as an adviser to Premier Paré.



**AWARDED:** By John Updike, 68, a Pulitzer Prize for fiction, and to Neil Simon, 61, a Pulitzer Prize for drama. Updike won for *Robert and Flax*, the fourth novel in the *Robert and Flax* series about a small-town car salesman. Simon won for his play *Lost in Yonkers*, about two youths and their grandmother.

**DEAD:** The world's most crass bridge expert, Charles Goren, 96, in Los Angeles on April 2. Goren wrote the bridge player's bible, Goren's Bridge Complete, and was also a syndicated columnist.

**DEAD:** Sports reporter Austin (Dick) Carroll, 90, in Montreal. His tribute column, "Thru the Field," ran for more than 25 years in the Montreal Gazette. Carroll's articles also appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Esquire* and *Reader's Digest*.

## AN ECO-LOGICAL CHOICE



Electricity is produced from uranium without causing acid rain or releasing carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

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Maclean's is a weekly news magazine.

Publisher: (416) 593-1234

Director of Advertising: Susan Smith

National Sales Manager: Susan A. Hargrave

Business Development Manager: Paul Perreault

Regional Sales Manager: Don Gosselin (Eastern)

Editor: (416) 593-1234

Business Manager: Susan Smith

Director of Research: Susan A. Hargrave

Director of Marketing Communications: Susan A. Hargrave

Executive Editor: Susan A. Hargrave

Senior Circulation Director: Susan A. Hargrave

Advertising Production Manager: Susan Smith

Production Coordinator: Susan Smith

Customer Service Supervisor: Susan Smith

Maclean's is published weekly by Maclean's Publishing Company.

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# OPENING NOTES

Wayne Gretzky endorses a game, Pauline Kael rescues *Perfectly Normal*, and Madonna exposes herself

## FORBIDDEN FRUIT

In an action that off but makes the KGB and the FBI look like small potatoes, Prince Edward Island plans to appoint inspectors to make Islanders comply with new legislation banning cultivation of the humble pie in backyards. Nicknamed "the potato patch" by many gardeners, the department of agriculture has authorized the use of force to enter private yards to check for any potato plants. The ban follows a recent American embargo on F&L seed potatoes because they carry a virus that, while harmless to potatoes and people, is killing U.S. tobacco crops. Said Agriculture Minister Keith Milligan: "It is vital to the future of our prime industry to convince the United States to reopen the border." But many backyard gardeners say that they are angry. Declared Donald Aylward, a carpenter from Merrill, 28 km northwest of Charlottetown: "The government has gone too far this time. There always grown potatoes in our backyards." \$100, if he continues, Aylward faces a fine of up to \$20,000. And that is no small potatoes.

Aylward: "The government has gone too far!"



## It is all in the hockey game

When Gretzky's name is on ice, his not rubbed off on a table-top hockey game manufactured by Kenner Sports Toys International Inc. of Edmonton. The company argued the Los Angeles Kings' superstar to endorse the \$110 game in 1993. But after sales peaked at Christmas, angry buyers began returning the hockey game. The problem: broken plastic pucks and warped ice surfaces. A Calgary game store operator, who refused to be identified, says that he sold about 300 sets at Christmas. He told Maclean's: "I wanted out in January, but they are trying to hide their problems by juggling replacement pucks and rules." Coincidentally this month the federal government's Western Economic Diversification Program

announced that it will provide the company with a 1975,000 second-loss loan. After all, the first cost of a legend is a stake.



Gretzky: a legendary commercial endorsement

## RAINING ON THE PARADE

Four Winnipeg, last month, a local business group launched a \$1.5-million promotional campaign called "Winnipeg: Over 100 Great Reasons to Love It." But it happened to coincide with an Angus Reid poll showing that only three per cent of Canadians chose the city as the best place to live. And *Charlton* magazine overhauled the *Manitoba* capital and picked Brandon as one of the 10 best cities in Canada. Said Winnipeg Mayor Wilson Norris: "The rest of the country is just jealous they don't live here." Here is where the heart is.

## Of arms and advertising

Now that the Gulf War is over, some manufacturers of sophisticated weapons systems are peddling their wares in print. NBC, a London-based company that makes a ground-launched rocket system used in the bombardment of Iraqi troops, recently ran an ad in *June's Defence Weekly*. The ad shows a direct and cracked terrain. Under the title "Report from the desert," it includes testimonials from newspapers and a British military commander. Said Robert Turvey, an executive vice-president: "If you're trying to sell equipment, it's stupid not to talk about it because it kills people." Truth and consequences.

## THE SECOND TIME AROUND

New York City film critic Pauline Kael and Vincent Canby writers agree whether they are. Their latest clash concerns the Canadian comedy *Perfectly Normal*. When the movie opened in New York in February, Canby, whose *New York Times* reviews have enormous impact, panned it: "Sluggish and undeveloped," he wrote. "Gags have to go." The punch is flaccid." The review, about a friendship between two very different men, closed two weeks later—but as Kael was preparing a lengthy rave for *The New Yorker*. Kael, 71, who once alternately attacked even her best friend, Maclean's, "I have never understood Canby's comedy sense." As a result, she filed a copy of her notes to *Perfectly Normal* apologist, Michael Burns. Write Kael: "Perfectly Normal has charm and gusto. It's far more entertaining than most of the new films that are supposed to be major works." And because reviews often make or break such difficult movies as *Perfectly Normal*, Kael also gave Burns permission to quote her in ads. Now, the movie will appear in Manhattan on May 31. Said Burns: "The film requires a degree of word of mouth that only a review like that can generate." Perfectly normal.



Kael: gone, but not forgotten



Bruce Wallace

## A ROOM WITH A VIEW—BUT NO SERVICE

For a hotel that charges \$172 a night, the Kuwait International in Kuwait City offers few amenities. Guests carry their own bags, most of the 400 rooms have no locks on the doors and there is no maid service. And earlier this month, manager Hussein Sani prohibited cooking in the suites because the live servers kept going off. Indeed, conditions have changed little since Kuwait's liberation eight weeks ago. Battered *Maclean's* reporter Bruce Wallace, who spent three nights there at the end of the Gulf War: "We only had water for a half-hour a day, so we would have to fill the bathtub and make do." Now, the Kuwait International, a favorite of the occupying Iraqi soldiers, is considering raising its rate to \$307. Said Sani, with a smile: "Maybe I shouldn't do it, we'll get air-conditioning."

## Photogenic girl

Martin Scorsese, who in 1979 took audio photographs of Madonna and in 1985 sold them to Playboy, continues to



Madonna: more notes

capitulate on his encounter with the then-emerging singer. Now, he is selling sets of 11 limited-edition prints for \$10,000. He said that Madonna threatened to sue last summer, but that she has not objected since then. Added Scorsese: "I have not seen any how much he has earned from the photos." "I had no idea that she would become so famous. I do feel lucky."

## Inflated currency

Despite the current strength of the Canadian dollar, restaurateur Michael Smith of London, Ont., is taking no chances. Last January, he refused, Joe Smith, started importing Canadian Tim money at 100 with the dollar. Said Smith: "I have much more confidence in Canadian Tim than in the government of Canada. Basically, it's better managed." The move began as a promotional gimmick. Declared Smith: "No one has much money because of the recession, but we found that everyone has at least five or 10 cents in Canadian Tim coupons in the back of their wallets." Now, he collects about \$20 in Canadian Tim money every Monday and Tuesday, he only drops his offer in April. Said Smith, who says restaurant supplies with the coupons: "The Canadian Tim money is always good. But any day now, the Canadian dollar could fall through the floor."

Smith: "much more confidence"



Madonna: more notes

capitulate on his encounter with the then-emerging singer. Now, he is selling sets of 11 limited-edition prints for \$10,000. He said that Madonna threatened to sue last summer, but that she has not objected since then. Added Scorsese: "I have not seen any how much he has earned from the photos." "I had no idea that she would become so famous. I do feel lucky."





# Birth of a Notion.

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## Wanted: politicians with courage

BY CHARLES GORDON

The Prime Minister was not stirred by the *Maclean*-*Campese* commission's call for a sovereignty referendum in 1982. "I'm not frightened," said Brian Mulroney. "Threats don't work." Referendums don't work either. Maybe Mulroney will realize that before our country disappears completely into a fog of good intentions and bad ideas. When it comes to hard-line solutions, those who want to save Canada are just as guilty as those who want to destroy it. Laissez-faire proposals swirl around us, clouding the mind, and each of them sponsors the obvious solution to our national woes, which is to let our elected officials do the jobs they were elected to do.

The referendum idea has been around for a while now—who can forget those thrilling days of 1980?—but it is enjoying a new vogue, driven by a compelling, even seductive, slogan: Let the people decide.

Belfrage and Curpene like the idea for Quebec, and a number of English-Canadian leaders here, at various times, expressed interest in it as well. Frank McKenna, the premier of New Brunswick, has promoted the notion of a national referendum on the Constitution. Clyde Wells of Newfoundland suggested the idea around March's Laker race last year, and the Saskatchewan government of Grant Devine has pushed legislation enabling the province to hold referendums or plebiscites on a variety of issues, including constitutional ones.

The notion has been put to the Prime Minister, who does not seem to like it very much, but desperate men will try desperate things. At some stage, he could come to the conclusion that it is better to have the people deciding in a national referendum than deciding in a federal election. After all, who can oppose letting the people decide, and wouldn't the leader who allows them to decide be a bit of a hero?

Perhaps. But there is always the danger that when you let the people decide, they will decide

Charles Gordon is a columnist with *The Ottawa Citizen*.

*Referendums are signs that the system is not working. But the system is fine—it is the elected officials who are not working.*

what you don't want them to decide. That's one reason political leaders have not, historically, offered voters a simple yes-or-no question in a referendum. There's too much choice—50-50, some might say—of the result going the wrong way. The lesson was not lost on David Laforenque, trying to be a national hero in 1988. Laforenque gave his electorate a question consisting of 108 words and three sentences. After reading the question, the dazed voters, if they wanted to express positive feelings about Quebec remaining in Canada, had to answer "no." Sometimes, Laforenque reasoned, if you let referendum, on the question of sovereignty-association, and, as we can see, the matter has never troubled us since.

Which brings us to another point—that a referendum is not a final answer. As the Quebec experience shows, nothing is settled once and for all by a referendum. It can be overturned by events, by new laws, by another referendum. The losses of the referendums don't give up, from all indications, the main lesson they learn is that they should have phrased the question differently.

Paradoxically, that may be the only good thing about referendums—that they are not forever. What is wrong with the referendum as

not its superannuation but the fact that it becomes a substitute for political action, and for political courage.

When our system of parliamentary democracy works—as it doesn't—for the politicians go to the people with programs and policies, the people elect the politicians for periods of about four years, the politicians act and the people decide whether to keep them in or throw them out. The people do, in fact, decide.

The system, however, has deteriorated—when politicians running for office lack the courage to tell the people what they will do. Elections then become meaningless exercises in campaigning and television advertising. Once elected, the politicians lack the courage to make decisions. Then the cry goes up, "Let the people decide," and the politicians are only too glad to pretend to let them.

If it were semi-democratic, but the referendum campaign is like any other political campaign—based on a confusing question, surrounded by the usual demagoguery, the participation of party machines, the potentially surprising influence of the media and the politicians. It can never be a pure "yes" or "no." Ask Michael Gorbachev, who, probably not inspired by Laforenque, went to his voters with a question containing only 34 words and no sentences and managed to confuse them to no end. "Do you consider it necessary," he asked them, "to preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal, sovereign republics in which human rights and freedoms of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?" The question passed, but not by much, and the cry of "Let the people decide" is still being heard in the Soviet Union.

It is not as if the people had no way of making their voices heard between elections. There are plebiscites. And, between elections, there are polls, increasingly reported in the media, even more extensively taken by politicians. Let it or let it not, they will never change, and it should remain our duty. A prime minister or governor, in an ideal political world, would look at what the polls may suggest, appear on air or in conventions, and decide what to do. Deciding what to do would mean dealing to deal with the consequences, one of them being the possibility of being tossed out on his or her own at the next election, or even, in the most extreme case being tossed out in a no-vote/no-choice vote.

The cry of "Let the people decide" is a sign that the system isn't working. But there is nothing wrong with the system. It is the politicians who aren't working. It may be that we are seeing the consequence of image politics, a world in which men and women make their decisions in order to offend the lowest voters and are elected without the voters having much of an idea of what they stand for. After a few years in office, such politicians discover that they never had associates at all. The idea of knocking out the tough questions a referendum is just ducky with them.

Instead of demanding referendums, constitutional assemblies, constitutional conventions and whatnot, instead of demanding a better system, we should be demanding better politicians.





Parsons (centre left) with Bocharov: no party appears able to bridge the chasm in the national political landscape

## CANADA

# POLITICAL BREAKDOWN

He is a parliamentarian who, in the words of a colleague, has always been on the "back, back, back benches." But last week, Vovk, Que., MP Gilbert Charest, suddenly emerged into the limelight. Elected as a Conservative in 1984 and again in 1988, Charest had been from the Tory caucus last May to join former environment minister Lucien Bocharov's separatist Bloc Québécois. Last week, accusing his Bloc colleagues of being "stupid only at destroying the country," Charest again asserted his loyalty—back to the Conservatives. His return offered Prime Minister Brian Mulroney a new avenue to rehabilitate a new wave of reviving over Bocharov—until last year, one of his closest friends. Mulroney warned the fact that he had known of Charest's ambivalence in advance, while Bocharov had gone to do, "I know what he was going to say," says a senior Mulroney aide told trends. "I was 150 km and I pretty well knew where he was at." A Liberal cannot keep track of night.

## THE SPLINTERING OF CANADA'S NATIONAL PARTIES PLACES THE COUNTRY ON AN UNCERTAIN COURSE

Apart from shedding light on Mulroney's extremely porous personality, the event was singular for another reason: it was counter to a trend that increasingly alienates Canadians who are searching for solutions to the country's deep divisions. Charest's return to the Tory caucus stood at odds with the movement's splintering from that all three traditional national parties present. Indeed, only days before

Charest's reversal, Alberta's provincial Conservatives, led by Premier Donald Getty, announced that they had formally severed their affiliation with Mulroney's federal party. Over the same weekend, the Parti Québécois declared that it was withdrawing from an electoral alliance that at the past two general elections had left the party to support the federal Tories. In the next election, declared its leader Jacques Parizeau, the separatist party will throw its weight behind Bocharov's Bloc Québécois.

The Tories are not the only party suffering from widening rifts. Animosity between federal Liberal leader Jean Charest and Quebec's Liberal premier, Robert Bourassa, has brought cooperation between the separate federal and Quebec parties to a standstill. For their part, federal New Democrats voted on March 10 to dissolve their connection with that party's small Quebec wing, which has vocally supported sovereignty. At the same time, while one political floor—Bourassa's floor—seeks support only within Quebec, another—the Western-based Reform Party of Canada—has

made it clear that it is interested only in voters outside that province. Said Robert Jackson, a Canadian University political scientist and former policy adviser to the federal Liberals: "National parties which unite Canadians from all provinces in a common direction will be becoming extinct." As a result, some political analysts suggest that the next election will produce a patchwork Parliament in which no party holds a majority of seats. Predicted Jackson: "We will end up with a shattered Parliament unable to confront the challenges that Canada faces in the next decade."

Indeed, the uncertainty arising from the death last June of the proposed Meek Lake constitutional accord has left the Canadian political landscape with deep fault lines, provisionally along regional lines. "After Mulroney failed," and Western businessmen and Liberal activist (and *Times* reporter) Alvin Karp, "all the latent grievances of English Canada came out. Every-

Marshall lawyer and former federal Liberal cabinet minister Francis Fox said then: "There was much too much emotion on both sides. If we could only get away from the process that any national solution will have western and eastern sides in them, it will be made."

But amid the escalating rhetoric, no national political party appears capable of bridging such a divide. For one thing, many voters clearly hold all three national parties in low esteem. A March Gallup poll showed that nearly one-quarter of Canadians surveyed said that none of the three national leaders would make an acceptable prime minister. Said Vancouver-based constitutional lawyer Edward McWhinney: "People are fed up with the old parties."

Outside Quebec, that sentiment has contributed to the growth in Reform party membership. Observed Saskatchewan newspaper columnist Alfred Bentley, a lifelong Conservative activist: "Not just Tories are hurt by Reform. They are rejecting people from all political factions." But so the Reform party considers regarding its specialties into Ontario and the East, it may find it difficult to speak even for all of English-speaking Canada. The party's commitment to cuts in social spending, for one, may prove to be tough to sell in Atlantic Canada, where the cultural backdrop safety net of a traditional welfare system against local economic times.

Still, no other party is any better placed to attract any broad support. According to the latest opinion surveys, Reform has badly eroded Conservative support in the West—and hanged Liberal support to a virtual halt in that region. For its part, the Bloc has little presence in Quebec beyond its recent support with ex-Quebecer wing, and has attracted only scattered support in Atlantic Canada. But with Charest's return to the Conservatives last week, federal Tories at least, seemed that their party still could not be completely ignored. Said Senator Norman



Getty: splitting from the national Conservative party

lord asserted to the words of their region. "Those differences are often expressed in harsh terms," said the *Saskatchewan* Conservative presser, Grant Devine, for one, but week issued a series of letters to Quebecers who propose an economic union between an independent Quebec and the rest of Canada. Declared Devine: "If Quebec wants to go, it will be with its own dollar and it will have no monetary or fiscal part of the national debt." Such statements have made the search for a national compromise more difficult, according to

many critics, even those of the Conservatives' last two national electoral campaigns. "Things will shift before an election vote is won," said a Canadian newspaper pundit when it comes to electoral behavior. "More and more, the best interests of the country." The troubling fact, however, is that Canadians show little signs of agreeing on what those interests are.

FRANK WALLACE with E. JANE PULLEN  
in Ottawa

## National Notes

### A PREMIER APOLOGIZES

■ C. Premier Bill Johnston apologized to British Columbia for his predecessor William Vander Zanden's conduct in office. The new premier, who succeeded Vander Zanden on April 4, was criticized Monday for his role in the cabinet to former minister. Vander Zanden had resigned from the post last month after Vander Zanden refused to give up his legislative duties while under scrutiny for conflict of interest.

### NO SOLUTIONS

Split by just one of the 585 respondents to a national poll by Gallup Canada Inc., said that the Quebec's Parti Québécois, the province's premier Jean Parizeau, will not make any move to solve the country's constitutional crisis. At the same time, the former minister of provincial affairs claimed that his party will concentrate on preparing its report for its July 1 deadline.

### A CONTROVERSIAL INQUIRY

News leaders criticized an inquiry given to two non-Quebecers who have been asked to review a case involving active children and sexual abuse during last summer's Montreal crisis in Quebec. Jean Lemay, 18, and Sébastien Veillette, 18, each received two years on probation for their part in the incident. Joe Norton, chief of Quebec's Sûreté des services, said that the sentences showed "that white people can do what they want and get away with it."

### POLICE HEEDS THREATS

Fear of the effects in Ontario's police forces will be worst, according to a new survey by the Ontario Police Association. The survey's top government. Government spokesman acknowledged that it may take years to reach that goal.

### COMMONS RESTRICTIONS

Over day before Parliament ended its spring sitting, the Conservative government's majority passed a procedural motion reducing the time allotted for MP speeches during debate of bills. The motion also reduces the time the Commons is to be in session by about 40 days from a yearly average of 125 days.

### QUEBEC ALERT

Robert McKeown, managing director of Montreal's prominent Groupe Concord Trust Co., advised political veterans in Canada to expect an anywhere-but-Quebec move. "Canada is strong enough to withstand Quebec separating," he told reporters, "but Quebec is not strong enough to stand on its own."



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# BILINGUALISM UNDER FIRE

## THE UNITY DEBATE REVIVES CRITICISM OF THE POLICY OF TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES



For the 40-year-old Quebecer, the past two decades have been a continuing battle. Since the early 1970s, Jean Desrosiers, a lawyer on the south shore of New Richmond, has fought a series of what are regarded as attacks on the rights of about 12,000 English-speaking residents of her region. A member of the area's Committee of Anglophone Social Action, she attended Quebec's ban on English signs and opposed Quebec's public funding for English libraries and, most recently, for programs such as her own 90-year-old mother's in-home care in their own language in local convalescent homes. The constant campaigns have weakened the mother of four, whose interests have lived at the Gaspé for more than 200 years. Says Desrosiers: "I'm getting tired. I'm at the point where I'd just like to sit down and enjoy life."

But Desrosiers may face her most critical battle yet in the language wars. She says that she is worried about the survival of Canada's official policy of bilingualism. "Losing bilingualism," she adds, "would be devastating for us." Desrosiers' concerns were shared among English-speakers in Quebec and francophones outside the province alike, as well founded

Canada's 22-year-old two-language policy is under attack in perhaps never before. A handful of critics—many of them fiercely anti-French—have created the policy from the outset as a weak and pointless extension of their everyday lives. But in recent months, a swelling chorus of scholars has also begun to register disillusionment with bilingualism. The *Liberal Party of Canada*, now considering moving

March 25 in Ottawa. Declaring bilingualism "a major national success story," Fortin noted that "there have been almost six years, international or otherwise, to create a climate of doubt around the future of official languages." As noted the *Canadian Press*: "A myth is being spread that language reform has failed."

Bilingualism has not failed, but cracks are plainly showing as the policy crumbled when Parliament passed the Official Languages Act in 1969. That act, introduced by the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau, guaranteed the use of French and English in more than 180 federal institutions in a proportion for national unity. Parliament intended the law in 1969 to give the provinces the power to provide minority-language education where numbers warranted, among other changes. But with national unity more elusive than ever, many Canadians are subjecting the policy to widespread scrutiny.



Fortin's defense of 'a major national success story'

into other parts of Canada from its base in the West, is losing mainstream voters with a call to loosen up federal bilingualism requirements. Even the federal Conservatives, while insisting that they are not ready to give up the privilege of two official languages, are quietly reviewing the application of bilingualism.

Those trends led the federal government's bilingualism watchdog, Commissioner of Official Languages D'Amboise Fortin, to insist sharply in his latest annual report, released on

of bilingualism by placing their school-age children in French-immersion classes.

Still, many Canadians would remain a retreat from Fortin's vision of a bilingual idealism. The Toronto polling firm, Environics Ltd., for one, has recorded declining tolerance for the policy over the past 14 years. Environics vice-president Donna Dasko says several reasons for this shift. For one thing, she says, English-Canadians "look at Quebec and see that it wants to become unilingual. They're

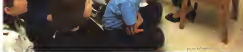


Photo: M. Gosselin

A Grade 2 French-immersion class in Montreal critics call the policy a costly failure

being asked to do something for Quebec that Quebec isn't willing to do for others." Another point is the cost of maintaining official bilingualism—\$646 million in the 1980-1990 fiscal year, according to Fortin.

And increasingly, scholars are among those calling for reform of language policy. John Menkel, a political scientist at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., argues that the two-language policy is no longer reflects Canada's makeup. "The country is changing," Menkel asserts. New groups of immigrants and what Menkel calls "new elites," such as artists, critics, Canadian and the disabled, are posing an influence. Says Menkel: "There is no return of power and challenging the concept of Canada as a dual partnership."

The most frequently suggested change in the two-decade-old policy is a move to turn most decisions on language rights in such areas as education and health over to the provinces. That approach has surfaced in the past. Kenneth McLean, a political scientist at Ottawa's Carleton University who has studied bilingual communities around the world, first suggested 12 years ago that Canada model itself on Switzerland, where 26 cantons effectively control language policy. "There is no state 'franchise,'" says McLean, "but it works a lot more smoothly than Canada."

Recently, for its part, the federal Conservative government has kept its options open—while offering its loyalty to the principle of bilingualism. In response to opposition questioning in the House of Commons, acting prime minister Jean Chrétien said last month, "The commitment of this government to official bilingualism is clear, constant and constant." But

early this month, Federal-Provincial Relations Minister Lowell Murray told a reporter that giving the provinces more control over language might help ease "very serious linguistic tensions." Terry McInnes, deputy minister of bilingualism at that Wednesday caucus meeting last week, And one source official in the Prime Minister's Office acknowledged later: "We are looking at a lot of different ways of applying that policy."

In fact, whether changes the Tories may approve are likely to be small. Bilingualism would probably continue as force in most central government institutions, as well as such federal agencies as national parks and Canada Post. But language requirements might well be relaxed for business. The controversial bilingual oral test, for one, could disappear from some markets, as might bilingual advertising on some public routes. Still, University of Ottawa political scientist John Trent, a constitutional expert on language, suggests that the presence of significant francophone minorities in much of the country from New Brunswick to Northern Ontario would prompt many businesses and communities in those regions to retain a measure of bilingualism. And while Ottawa would no longer provide a model of minority language services, Trent adds, "bilingualism will be in the front lines where people actually need it—in health and hospital and legal work."

And at Trent's view, the practicalities of commerce in the rest of the country would oblige Quebec to continue to deliver services in English to its anglophone minority. Others are far less sanguine. Stephen Gosselin, the bilingual francophone news editor of a weekly English-language newspaper in Que-

bec's *La Presse* region, says that he foresees dire consequences from a federal retreat on bilingualism. Adds Gosselin: "If you leave it up to the provincial legislatures, it only takes one redneck in twenty decades of hard work." Gosselin has even proposed, he says, "if the Parti Québécois were elected, whatever English-language rights are left might disappear within a few years." That concern is echoed among members of Manitoba's French-language community. Raymond Besson, president of the Franco-Manitoba Society, told *La Presse*: "We're very concerned. If we look at history, Manitoba has never been known to provide a lot of understanding to francophones here." Adds Besson: "Language rights have to be the responsibility of the federal government."

There are still other supporters of the current policy. Canada's National Council for French, an 18,000-member national volunteer group that supports schooling in French for anglophone youngsters, sent a telegram to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last month, asking reassurance that he plans to act in favour of official languages programs. Declared the group's national president, Patricia Brabant of Edmonton: "We have heard a lot of noise about backsliding in bilingualism. We do have some concerns." However, indeed, however strong the public desire for a reexamination of language policy may be, the proposals of bilingualism point to several indications that the policy has been a success. For one thing, according to Fortin's report, the number of non-French children enrolled in French-immersion programs has grown to 388,000 last year from 36,000 nationwide in 1977. At the same time, Fortin noted that while francophones outside Quebec are against a shrinking proportion of the population as a result of assimilation by non-francophones, their actual number increased to 945,000 in 1986 from 908,000 in 1976. As noted the language commissioner's report: "Francophones outside Quebec are experiencing a cultural revival." For her part, New Richmond's Desrosiers says she has hopes of maintaining two official languages. "Canada is winning it. Bilingualism has stood the test of time." But having said that test, one of the hallmark policies of contemporary Canada has clearly been critical trials in the months ahead.

GLEN ALLEN and  
ANTHONY POLSON-SMITH in Ottawa

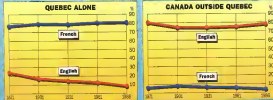
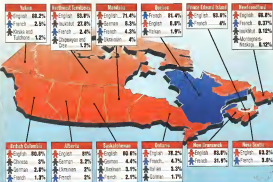


# BEYOND TWO LANGUAGES

## OUTSIDE QUEBEC, FRENCH IS LOSING GROUND

According to research first by Canadian census officials, the French presence across Canada has declined since Confederation. In 1871, 31 per cent of Canadians used French as their "ethnic tongue." But in the latest census, in 1986, 36 per cent of Canadians, in response to a slightly different question, said that French was their "mother tongue"—defined as "the

first language learned at childhood and still understood." Yet as English has become more dominant nationally, French has gained strength within Quebec (graphed). The 1986 figures also show that in the West and the Northwest Territories, respondents citing other minority languages as their mother tongue outnumber those citing French (map).



Statistics Canada has recorded language distributions differently over the decades. In the above, 1871 and 1901 figures refer to ethnic origin, 1911, 1961 and 1986 figures refer to mother tongue.



Students at the Université de Moncton, preserving French outside Quebec.

## FOR THE LOVE OF LANGUAGE

### ACADIANS ARE FIGHTING FOR SURVIVAL



It has been a centuries-old struggle to maintain a distinct French identity—a struggle that Canada's Acadians have

continued against sometimes overwhelming odds. Beginning in 1755, after they refused to swear an oath of unconditional allegiance to Britain, about 9,700 Acadians were loaded onto ships and deported from their homes in what are now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to British, French, Louisiana and elsewhere. Thousands eventually made the long trek back to their Maritime homeland, where they re-created their distinctive way of life. The historic struggle ended somewhat in 1868, when Ottawa's passage of the Official Languages Act

guaranteed French-language federal government services across Canada. That, in turn, cleared the way for Acadians throughout the Atlantic provinces to assert legislative

claims from the region's provincial governments. But now, in spite of those gains, derailing of the debate over Canada's bilingual policy—and concern that Ottawa may

erode from the New Brunswick chapter of the right-wing Confederation of Regions (CofR) party, has made many Acadians fear for their linguistic rights. And many Acadians say they worry that if Ottawa weakens its support for bilingualism, New Brunswick's government may attempt to save money by backing away from its own commitments to French. Still, Michel Beaudette, president and chief executive officer of Moncton-based Assomption Mutual Life Insurance Co. "With Ottawa cutting back transfer payments, there could be increased pressure on the provincial government to cut French services."

Indeed, many of New Brunswick's Acadians say that they are already under siege—especially from the Confederation of Regions party. In the most recent survey of provincial political opinion, the group stood out with the provincial Conservatives, claiming the support of the 13 per cent of respondents who said that the party best represents their views. That was far below the governing Liberals who held 57 per cent support. Still, most observers predict that the CofR party's strength will ensure that language becomes a major issue in a provincial election that is expected later in the year.

Given the state of such challenges, New Brunswick's Acadians are clearly better off than those living in the other Atlantic provinces—where they have neither the strength of numbers nor provincial legislatures to protect them. Still, they have made some small gains, particularly in the education field. The education acts of both Nova Scotia, home to 20,000 Acadians, and Prince Edward Island, which has 15,000 Acadians, now provide for French-language schools, run by French head teachers, in areas where francophones grow in numbers. Newfoundland, which has 14,000 French-speaking residents, is now in the process of passing a similar amendment to its school law. And some Acadian leaders say that they are confident that those provincial governments will continue to offer more French-language services, no matter what Ottawa's decisions to follow in bilingualism.

But others, including Marc Angers, editor of *Le Gaiacien*, a bilingual French-language newspaper published in Saint-John's, N.S., say that they expect the worst—particularly the so-called cutting bilingual services would be a convenient way for provincial governments to reduce spending. Charged Angers: "If the Official Languages Act disappears, the evolution of French services in Newfoundland will not even be threatened. Indeed, that province's executive director of the Académie Sociétale de Nouvelle-Écosse. "After 25 years of survival here, everything we have gained is going to come crashing down." Clearly, despite the Acadians' centuries-old struggle, vigilance in the defense of their culture will be necessary.

JOHN DEWITT in Moncton



# THE FEAR IN THE MIDDLE

## QUEBEC 'ALLOPHONES' DEMAND TO BE HEARD



Librarian **Yan Le** spends his working days surrounded by the evidence of his achievement: all 35,000 volumes of it. The books line the shelves outside his office at Montreal's Mile-End Library, a downtown institution in an ethnically diverse area. There are Italian novels, Spanish dramas, Greek biographies, collections of Portuguese poetry, works in Chinese and Vietnamese, even a few tomes in the widely spoken but rarely written Italian Creole patois. "It has taken to 30 years to assemble these books," said Le, the library's director. He added, hesitating a trace of pride: "Look at the language of the titles and you get some idea of the cultural composition of the community we serve."

**Others:** In the lexicon of Quebec's linguistic politics, the members of those communities are known as "allophones"—from the Greek *allos*, for "other"—who, like the 50-year-old, Vietnamese-born **Yan Le**, have learned French not English as their mother tongue. Of the 2.9 million people on and around the island of Montreal, one out of five is an allophone, speaking one or more of 35 languages. And their place in the Quebec debate over language policy is contentious. Unprotected by the federal Official Languages Act, most allophones acknowledge—and speak—French as the day-to-day business language of Quebec. At the same time, most also express a loyalty to a united Canada that they share more closely with Quebec allophones than with the province's French majority. The distinction is one that many allophones find socially uncomfortable. As **Yan Le** has recently remarked: "We are like fish forced to swim in two currents."



Le: "We fish forced to swim in two currents."

During the 1970s, allophones—especially Montreal's Italian community—began protesting against Quebec's restrictions on the controversial use of English and English-language education outlined in Bill 22. But now, allophone community leaders say that must have accepted—sometimes grudgingly—the demand that Quebec society be French-speaking. "Most of us no longer deny the French

majority," observed Max Bernier, an Anglophone Montreal lawyer and spokesman for the Quebec wing of the Canadian Jewish Congress. "That concerns all of us who are neither one nor the other."

For the vast majority of the 800,000 Quebecers whose ethnic origins are neither British nor French, one battle over language is already

ending. And **Yan Le**, a spokesman for the Quebec wing of the National Congress of Italian-Canadians, "Almost everybody speaks at least enough French to get by."

But if Quebec's allophones have tentatively accepted the province's non-official language, it is increasingly clear that they are not central to the debate over the future shape of the country. "A serious risk in Quebec," notes **Polio**, "is that the debate could polarize in terms of the francophone community and the allophone community."

In response, **Polio's** group aligned itself early this month with the provincial wings of the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Hebrew Congress of Quebec in order to strengthen their position in the national unity debate. Together, the three groups claim to represent more than 400,000 Quebec allophones—a provincial population of 6.4 million—into separate. "The message we want to convey is that we are here in Quebec to stay but we'd like to stay in conditions that seem optimal to us," said **Polio**. "And what seems optimal to us is a framework of the Jewish Congress." Added Bernier of the Jewish Congress: "We also want to remind everyone that there are not just French in Quebec."

**At** it is a point that Quebec's government appears newly eager to acknowledge. The Quebec ministry of cultural communities contributed \$135,000 to the celebration in Montreal last week of the province's first-ever International Week. With another \$74,500 from the federal multiculturalism department, the event featured plays, films, art exhibitions, group discussions and even a dance song called *Shelter the Shino*. Said **Monique Gagnon-Tremblay**, Quebec's minister of cultural communities: "We want to talk with people, make them feel a little more at home than we have in the past."

For many Quebec allophones, that is a welcome change from the dominant attitudes of even the recent past in the province. But it is going to take more than a festival to ease the anxieties of a community that feels itself occupying a political no man's land between two increasingly hostile linguistic cultures.

BARRY CANE in Montreal



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Kurdish refugees at a camp in Turkey: children and old people are dying daily from cold, hunger, exhaustion and illness.

## WORLD

# A MOUNTAIN TERROR

**H**our by hour, the death toll rose among Kurdish refugees on the barren, wind-swept rim-vent mountain slopes of northern Iraq. Hour by hour, the domestic and international pressure mounted on President George Bush to take forceful action to help end their misery. Then, last week, he sent Secretary of State James Baker to inspect a makeshift refugee camp on the Turkish border and ordered a large-scale relief effort. At the same time, the Europeans, led by British Prime Minister John Major, called for the establishment of an enclave for the Kurds inside Iraq, protected by allied troops. At first, Bush appeared to reject

**AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES ARE SENDING MASSIVE RELIEF TO IRAQ'S SUFFERING KURDS**

that proposal, clearly concerned that a protected zone might lead to the establishment of a separate Kurdish state. Instead, he warned Iraqi President Saddam Hussein not to use his remaining ground and air forces in the relief area and not to interfere with supplies or attack the fleeing Kurds north of the 36th parallel. But the pressure for more positive action continued to grow and, finally, after talks with two top European officials, Bush announced "total agreement" with his allies.

Place: World spokesman Martin Prattner said that differences between the Americans and Europeans were superficial. Instead of a formal enclave, the estimated 1.7 million most-

ly Kurdish refugees will be fed, sheltered and protected in areas to be called "humanitarian" or "safe havens." Iraqi officials and United Nations experts who flew to Baghdad on the weekend will set the boundaries for these regions. Bush described the relief operation, spearheaded by a U.S. airlift, as "the largest in modern military history."

Meanwhile, the state of war between Iraq and the U.S.-led coalition forces in Kuwait is February finally ended. The UN Security Council declared a ceasefire after Hussein's government accepted peace terms under which Iraq has to destroy all weapons of mass destruction and pay large war reparations. In fact, the ceasefire cleared the way for the deployment of a 1,400-member UN peacekeeping force—USARPAC—along the Iraq-Kuwait border.

At the White House on Thursday, Bush met European Commission President Jacques Delors and European Council of Ministers President Jacques Santer. The U.S. President later declared that there had never been any differences between himself and the Europeans over how to help the Kurds. "I want you to understand that," said Bush, smiling at a foreigner at reporters. "There is no difference at all."

Referring to Hussein, he added: "We do not expect any interference from the man in Baghdad. He knows better than to interfere."

Bush's remarks have seemed to be a response to widespread criticism that he had been far more decisive in liberating Kuwait than in helping the Kurds, whose uprising the President and other Western leaders had helped to inspire with calls for Hussein's overthrow. Sen Representative David Bonior, a Wisconsin Democrat, "knew that all of us, as we did something about it. [The Kurds] don't have oil, so they're going to get slaughtered." Bush, on the other hand, insisted that the Kurdish uprising was an internal matter and that his priority was to bring U.S. troops home as quickly as possible.

Still, Prattner said, Bush ordered that every effort be made to help the refugees. The U.S. relief committee, code-named Operation Provide Comfort, will feed, clothe and shelter 700,000 people over the next 30 days. Prattner said. But by this weekend, the number of Kurds and other refugees from northern Iraq reached 1.7 million. The majority of those were at or near the Iranian frontier, but the U.S. is clearly concentrated on the Turkish border area, as is Canada's relief effort.

Last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced that Ottawa would send four Canadian Forces C-130 Hercules transport planes and a 60-member medical unit to assist the refugees. Two of the planes and the medical unit will be based in Turkey and will operate with the U.S.-led relief effort there. The other two aircraft will ferry supplies to refugees in eastern Turkey and Iraq as part of a relief program established by the German government. That assistance is in addition to \$7.3 million in humanitarian aid that Ottawa had already promised to send to refugees on or near the Turkish border, and \$800,000 that will be used to help those on the Iranian frontier.

At week's end, U.S. officers began setting up a forward base in Turkey, close to the Iraqi frontier, to allow U.S., British and other allied aircraft to readily stage relief flights. U.S. officials said that 1,300 tents, 330,000 blankets and 990,000 ounces of M&M's "milk candy" (as it had already been taken from stockpiles in Europe) by week's end, food-wagon military transports based in Turkey had dropped at least 204 tons of relief supplies. But poor weather conditions and mounting national debts made the supply drops difficult. Many camps located in areas beyond reach, while some actually killed refugees by falling onto them.

As the operation increased, relief workers said that up to 1,000 refugees are dying daily of starvation, exposure and sickness. Bitter cold, driving rain and, at higher altitudes, snow added to the misery of the refugees and made rugged mountain roads impossible to track trying to deliver supplies. Western observers on the Turkish frontier described an camp as a mountain village at an altitude of 6,000 feet, as a "quarter of mile-dim and without any electricity facilities, the camp rises from the peaks of human excrement. And refugees, who have no water supply and must use snow or collect water from a muddy stream to survive, are suffering from diarrhea, according to observers. Many families lost only plastic sheets as shelter from the icy, driving rain. Some did not even have these, and they sat in the open night after night in the relentless downpour. "We left Iraq to live," said one old Kurdish man. "We came here to die. Everyone is dying."

The Turkish relief effort is determined to prevent a massive influx of refugees because they say they do not have the resources to deal with it, were forcibly keeping the majority of the refugees from entering their territory. The Kurds, facing an even larger influx than the Turks, but receiving far less international assistance, appear to be more welcoming. They closed the border after allowing hundreds of thousands to cross, they reopened it early last week. In the sudden shift that followed, the border city of Sanliurfa was overwhelmed by an estimated 200,000 desperate Kurds. State-run Tel Aviv Radio reported that "all houses, public buildings and schools were overflowing with many refugees sleeping on streets and alleys."

Dr. Roger Wivart, of the French medical

## World Notes

### POSTWAR DIPLOMACY

On a tour of the Middle East, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was Iraq's agreement in principle to participate in a regional peace conference, on condition by Washington, and Moscow will begin neighboring Arab states. Although Egypt and Saudi Arabia gave cautious support to the plan, Syria favored a ceasefire with a significant role. Further expediting matters was Iraq's refusal to accept Arab participation in the talks, and the country's insistence on maintaining Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Golan Strip.

### DISASTERS AT SEA

At least 129 people were missing and assumed dead after an Italian ferry collided with an oil tanker in thick nighttime fog near the northwestern coast of Lushan, Shantung Province, China, 23, the only known survivor aboard the ferry carrying 72 passengers and crew, and the both vessels burst into flames upon impact. Just hours later, at least two more people died when a Cyprus-registered tanker carrying 990,000 barrels of oil exploded off Italy's northwest coast of Genoa, causing what Italian environmental minister Giorgio Napolitano said could be "the most serious environmental disaster in the Mediterranean."

### ADOPTING ISLAMIC LAW

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif introduced legislation to make the Koran the basic source of law in Pakistan. Sharif's government coalition, the Islamic Democratic Alliance, promised to adopt Islamic law after it won elections last October following the removal of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on corruption charges.

### PULLING OUT OF POLAND

In another display of Moscow's post-Cold War policy, the first 1,200 of an estimated 50,000 Soviet troops withdrew from Poland as part of a planned pullout. Soviet troops have been a constant presence in Poland since 1945.

### MILITARY OUTRAGES

During helicopter rescues, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney proposed the closing of scaling down of U.S. military bases across the country as part of a long-term plan to reduce the size of the military. The proposal, which includes closing Fort Ord army base south of San Francisco, Fort Dix in New Jersey and a major naval training center at Orlando, Fla., has ignited protests in some congressional and state legislatures would suffer economic losses.



clarity Doctors Without Borders, described the situation as "apocalyptic." He told of two Kurdish women who stood in a food line for hours, not realizing that the babies they each held in their arms had been dead for two days. Iranian officials said at week's end that more than one million refugees had already arrived, with hundreds of thousands of others on the way. But the Iranians said that the rest of the world had left them almost alone in deal with the situation. Still not sure that Friday they grant permission for U.S. transport planes to land in Iraq.

Meanwhile, despite the U.S. aid effort, relief officials continued to criticize the operation's slow pace. Staff Randolph van Bernhilt, chief operating officer for the international relief organization Oxfam. "The U.S. government is still involved in the process of assessment of refugee needs, while other governments have already become operational." As well, van Bernhilt pointed out that the supplies that U.S. planes were dropping to the refugees included considerable amounts of such valuable items as chewing gum, noodles, strawberries and oranges. By contrast, he said, Oxfam had purchased and trucked in the food in which the Kurds are accustomed, including lentils, cheese and olive. Peter Smith, director of instruction, a coalition of 127 private American relief agencies, said, "Up until now, the U.S. relief effort has been very much a Band-Aid operation."

Despite White House claims, it seemed clear that there had been a considerable difference of approach between the United States and the Europeans. A Western diplomatic source in Washington, who wished to remain anonymous, said that the State Department's Majar, who presided on Saturday for the Kurds at an EC summit last week, had been "very upset" by Bush's "less than wholehearted" response. "It was only after international opinion began harping against him, as well as domestic pressure, that Bush changed course," the source said. Clearly that was an early supporter of the European plan, proposing that a UN supervisory committee should oversee immediately any northern Iraq to co-ordinate the delivery of relief and provide security for the refugees.

At a meeting with congressmen in Washington last week, members of Doctors Without Borders described Kurdish children whose flesh had been charred by Iraqi napalm and phosphorus bombs. Representative Helen Sawyer, a Maryland Republican who was openly at the summit, said that outraged congressmen had been calling her office to demand government action to save the Kurds. She added that one woman had said her: "I'm ashamed of my country, to let this happen." Sawyer, heading an increasingly influential group, the Kurds living in exile, has only by a late-week trip to the UN, allowing some ways of success to provide a more serious aid to them some veterans.

JOHN BERNHART with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington and correspondents' reports



Striking miners protesting poor living conditions and safety standards

## THE SOVIET UNION

# 'We want a better life'

Striking coal miners challenge the Kremlin

**R**ed Army Street is little more than a muddy lane lined with windowless red-brick houses in central Donetsk, a group of one million people in southeastern Ukraine. But on a street named after one of the Soviet Union's greatest revolutionaries, the winter going down from a bleak outside, hard work was symbolic. Miners at 18 mines in the Donetsk Basin, the country's largest and richest coalfield, were the first to strike in protest against poor living conditions and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's economic and political policies. Now, one week later, about 100,000 of the country's 1.2 million miners are idle, and workers in other industries have also downed their tools. On Red Army Street, Alexander Andriukha, a 45-year-old miner, tried unsuccessfully to start off the broken pump, the only source of water for the street's residents, and he complained bitterly about the cramped conditions.

"Those homes were built over 100 years ago, except for a single family," said Andriukha. "Now, three or four families share that space. That's progress under socialism and that's why we are on strike—we just want a better life for everyone."

In pursuit of that loosely defined goal, min-

ers from the Polish border to the North Pacific coast of Siberia voted last week to hold fast to their political demands—namely, that Gorbachev's regime. They have already spent a government offer to double their wages to an average of \$1,470 per month by the end of 1990. And most price increases on consumer goods have only reinforced the miners' argument that a pay increase without sweeping political change would be an empty gift. "The miners' defense of Soviet industry has led other workers and consumers to take their own dissatisfaction. And when Gorbachev responded last week by proposing so-called interim measures, including restrictions on strikes and demonstrations, protesters took to the streets with renewed outrage."

In Biryuzovsk, a normally tranquil and conservative republic, more than 300,000 workers staged a two-day strike to protest a tripling of prices of bread and other staples on April 2. And in Georgia, which followed the three Baltic republics and formally declared its independence last week, coal workers walked off the job. The republic's president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, said that he would also call a one-day general strike to support the miners' political

demands. According to Georgian officials, that still-unsettled strike would also serve as a protest against the Kremlin's refusal to withdraw Soviet troops from South Ossetia, a tiny, mountainous enclave within the Georgian republic. There, a violent ethnic conflict is raging between independence-minded Georgians and the predominantly Moslem Ossetians, who advocate remaining a part of the Soviet Union.

And, increasingly open speculation that Gorbachev's economic and political problems will force him to resign, the Soviet leader has resorted to a familiar Russian ploy—demanding more power. Last week in Moscow, he repeated his warning that the country was sliding toward catastrophe as he awarded proposed anti-strike measures to members of the Federation Council, an executive body that includes Kremlin officials and the leaders of the 15 republics. Gorbachev's program, which he planned to present to the Soviet legislature this week, would give him the power to ban strikes and demonstrations during working hours until the end of the year.

It would also try to end the native republics' demands for the chief objective of his emboldened response: the signing of a new union treaty that would divide the powers of the Kremlin and the republics with a renewed confidence. To that end, presidential aides say, the anti-strike program would penalize republics that balked at signing the treaty or continued to withhold contributions to the national budget by forcing them to pay for raw materials and energy.

That projected course of action could spark another confrontation between Gorbachev and his archrival, Boris Yeltsin, although the president of the Russian republic has recently modulated his attacks on Gorbachev. In place of his earlier calls for a political war with the federal government and demands for the Soviet leader's resignation, Yeltsin has issued an appeal for harmonious co-operation between Russia and the Kremlin, based on a joint approach to a market economy and respect for republican sovereignty. In fact, despite the miners' open support for Yeltsin, the Soviet Union's most popular politician said that he might even call striking miners in return to work in order to prevent the Russian—and the Soviet—economies from sliding further into chaos.

In any event, the protest in Biryuzovsk was only added to Gorbachev's problems. Until recently, the western republic of 10.4 million people had been one of the Kremlin's foremost allies and one of the least militant areas of the Soviet Union. But last week, in response to the price increases on April 2, about 50,000 demonstrators from at least 10 factories flooded into the center of Minsk, the Byelorussian capital, with demands ranging from Gorbachev's resignation to the nationalization of the Communist party's vast holdings. The two-day protest ended only when the republican government agreed to meet leaders and discuss their demands. Deputies Preside, the Communist party newspaper "Beyefing" as in a mass in Byelorussia, which and recently issued no strike, possible and reliable. Now, persons are not hot."

The miners' strike clearly influenced the

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## WORLD

Many protesters, some members of the Independent Union of Miners acknowledged that they had travelled from Ukraine to the hydroelectric capital to express their support for the demonstrations. And although many have not begun a strong working-class movement along the lines of Poland's Solidarity or produced a charismatic leader like Lech Walesa, a union that formed only last fall has already forced its muscles by shutting down Soviet mines across the country. In Ukraine last week, when 50 out of 250 mines closed down, strike committee member Nikolai Volynko said that miners still have better memories of 1989, when nearly 500,000 miners ended a nationwide walkout only to see the Khrushchev family to keep its promise to improve the workers' livelihoods. Said Volynko: "They will not say as for non-existent strikes this time."

Volynko is 38, a square-jawed man with graying hair who spent 10 years in the study that ran before the end-of-the-day streets of Donetsk. Last week he and other strikers met in a miners' hall adorned with heroic portraits of miners and miners exhorting the workers to dig more coal. But Volynko and other strikers, talking about what they called the appalling safety standards in the mines and understaffed troop armaments, showed, expressed their doubt that their lives would ever improve under Communist rule. "The Soviet Union," said Volynko, "was almost as many times in the coal mines a year ago as in the army did when it was fighting in Afghanistan." He added: "We have a saying that every million tons of coal costs a miner's life, and in a bad year the price rises to three or four lives per million."

These blunt assessments are common in Donetsk, a provincial, slavic place that suffered heavy damage during the Second World War and, after the Red Army drove out the Nazi occupiers, was rebuilt into one of the world's great manufacturing and mining centers. Donetsk is a city where Russians stayed in outnumbered native-born Ukrainians. And now, it is also split between strikers who have closed the Red Star mine and laborers at other mines and who are still working coal.

By the weekend, the mine had managed to avoid outright violence. But many strikers strongly criticized those workers who stayed on the job, describing them as scabs and strike-breakers who would resist the economic gains of the work stoppage without making any sacrifices. "What people here support what we are doing," said one striking miner. "If they did not, the Communist party would have quickly organized rallies and demonstrations against us, and they have not."

But in a mine where the socialist worker Moscow Gorky, workers finding the mining shift defended their decision to continue digging coal. Valentin Barnatko, a 54-year-old union leader with 30 years' experience in the pits, brusquely dismissed the strike as irresponsible. "Nothing good will come of it," said Barnatko. "The government has no money to assist the workers' economic demands." He added: "Everyone knows that miners live and

work in terrible conditions. But so do metal workers and collective farm members. And once we get higher wages, they will demand more tax, which can only lead to much higher inflation. These strikes can only lead to chaos." Volynko, nevertheless, talked about a more pressing and personal concern: his family's welfare. The strikers have received donations of money and food from sympathizers across the Soviet Union, including 200,000 rubles, or 1,000,000, from Russian workers. But last week, the strikers acknowledged that they were in a severe financial difficulty as food costs mounted. In Volynko's case, his wife, an 18-year-old daughter as the family's main support, said Volynko: "She understands that we are fighting for freedom, not slaves of trust."

Ever so, Andriukin, Volynko's workmate and fellow strike committee member, paid a very tribute to past achievements of the struggling Soviet system as he walked through a district of dilapidated, tenement cottages near Andriukin. "We have to thank Nikita Khrushchev because he built the five-story apartment buildings you see everywhere when he was running the country. And without the foreign credits that Ronald Reagan obtained when he was leader, we would all have been half-starved Gorbachev! He gave us glass and had been bright even in the beginning. But now, he has lost his way and does not know what to do." But Andriukin had no words of praise for the man-down, cutbacks that are still known locally as Hrubosheviy barracks in memory of John Hughes, a 20th-century Welsh entrepreneur who built them to house laborers at his nearby mine and metalworks.

Near one three-room legacy of Hughes's New Russia Co., Vladimir Melnyk, 35, stopped drinking water from a courtyard pump last week and secured his family's moment move to another apartment. Andriukin drank only tea. Melnyk, his wife, Lada, 30, and their eight-year-old son had assumed that god only only seven years in the barracks. Short of the main working period, Andriukin acknowledged that he was looking forward to life with some modern conveniences, but not cold running water and an indoor toilet. Continuing towards the laundry-fringed courtyard behind him, Melnyk said: "City officials have told us that there is nothing wrong with these places. But all I know is that the roof leaks and it is hard to live in the winter."

As he made his way back down Red Army Street, Andriukin argued that such discontent had helped to convince the miners to meet their demands of 1989. But he added, "This time, it is different. Now, we need political change, too." The discontent clearly represented a growing, working-class sense of non-belief in the current Soviet leadership. In the seventh spring of perestroika and glasnost, increasing numbers of Gorbachev's fellow citizens are expressing their freedom to demand a state that is as far removed from giving way to someone else.

MALCOLM GRAE is in Donetsk

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# TRADING PUNCHES

## MEXICO'S PRESIDENT TRIES TO SHORE UP SUPPORT FOR A NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE ZONE

In a public, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari says that he is optimistic about fulfilling his dream of a free trade zone encompassing Mexico, the United States and Canada. But a glance at Salinas's hectic travel schedule last week indicated that he is taking nothing for granted. The Mexican leader's agenda included private sessions with President George Bush in Houston and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Ottawa. He then visited Montreal, Toronto, Boston, Chicago and Austin, Tex., meeting with politicians, business leaders and labor representatives as a whirlwind campaign to secure their support for the proposed three-way trade agreement, but despite his efforts, Salinas left many of his opponents unconvinced. "He was very eloquent, very firm, very friendly," said Canadian Labor Congress president Shirley Carr, who spent 45 minutes with Salinas in Ottawa last week at the Mexican president's request. "But I was not very good, too."

A day after that meeting, Salinas attempted to reassure a business audience in Toronto. He said that he is confident that his goal of eliminating trade barriers among the three countries "will prevail over the temptation towards protectionism." But clearly, the Mexican leader knows that he must counter powerful protectionist forces. Both Bush and Mulroney have strongly endorsed his call for North American free trade. They say that it will benefit all three countries and improve their ability to compete with Europe and Japan. But labor leaders, environmentalists and members of some business groups in the United States and Canada take a different view. They maintain that hundreds of thousands of Canadians and Americans will lose their jobs under a trilateral free trade agreement as businesses move to Mexico to take advantage of cheaper labor and less stringent political controls.



Water pollution near Mexico City: concerns about less stringent controls

In the short term, at least, the debate about North American free trade is likely to have little effect on Canada's participation in the talks. Mulroney has strongly supported Salinas's drive for liberalized trade since meeting the General-electoral political economist in Mexico City in March, 1990. Opposition to such an agreement has come mainly from labor unions and the New Democratic Party. The federal Liberals, who campaigned against the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in the 1988 election, have taken a more neutral position towards trilateral free trade, although Opposition Leader Jean Charest has said that it must be accompanied by retraining programs for workers who lose their jobs as a result.

Despite the criticism, Mulroney is under little immediate pressure to change his policies, but he is now holding 230 of the 286 seats in the Commonsense enough to guarantee safe passage at a trade bill if, as currently planned, a final agreement is worked out by the end of this year.

In the United States, however, the legislative process is more complicated. That is because the U.S. Constitution grants Congress, rather than the President, jurisdiction over all matters involving international commerce. To ensure that the negotiations with Mexico and Canada proceed smoothly, Bush needs to secure an agreement with Congress that it will deal with the accord under a provision known as "fast-track." Under that process, Congress has the authority only to approve or reject the entire agreement signed by the President—or, in this case, Bush's right to negotiate under the fast-track procedures is set to expire on June 1, but it will be extended automatically for another two years unless a majority of members in either the House of Representatives or the Senate votes to extend the authority.

During his U.S. visit, the Mexican president repeatedly stressed the dangers of failing to reach an agreement, dealing head-on with the job-loss fears caused by opponents of trilateral free trade. He asked that leaders to approve a liberalized trade treaty could lead to a massive wave of Mexican immigration to the United States. Salinas said: "Without the agreement, there is a real prospect of generating a flow of millions of immigrants seeking jobs in the United States."

In the House of Representatives, the opposition to free trade is led by Democratic Representative Byron Dorgan of North Dakota, a state heavily dependent on agriculture. Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, a state whose textile industry is vulnerable to low-cost imports, has also spoken out in

favor of protectionism. Fearing that their constituents would be hurt by freer trade with Mexico, both men have introduced measures that would prevent an extension of the fast-track rules.

Hollings and many other U.S. legislators say they are worried that every job created in Mexico by free trade will be matched by a job lost in the United States. Some of them even oppose the administration's participation in the current round of international trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Declared Hollings: "The emerging NAFTA deal and Mexican free trade are so damaging to key sectors of our economy and workforce that they simply will not stand up under unfettered congressional debate."

As in Canada, organized labor is spearheading the opposition in the United States. But many large employers are also actively opposed to a trilateral trade agreement, and they are pressuring Congress to block the negotiations. "You



Salinas fighting powerful protectionist forces

are not protectionist, but business interests are very threatening to us," said John Miner, general manager of Libby Glass Inc. of Toledo, Ohio, the largest U.S. manufacturer of drinking glasses. He added that he has asked each of his firm's nearly 58,000 employees to write their congressional representatives to express their opposition to the trade talks. He also traveled to Washington in February to testify before the House ways and means committee. "Mexico is already responsible for producing 20 per cent of the glassware imported into the United States," Miner said. "Their wage rates are 90 per cent less than ours, and they are not restricted by the same sort of environmental laws and labor regulations."

In fact, most analysts say that they doubt that any legislators will actually vote against extending fast-track. For one thing, most congressional representatives will want to avoid open opposition to a president whose domestic popularity is still soaring as a result of the U.S. led allied victory in the Gulf War. "The President is enjoying a lot of political capital on this issue," said Jonathan Lewent, a senior researcher for the Washington-based National Planning Association, a trade group that closely monitors congressional activity. "My gut instinct is that, coming from his success in the Persian Gulf, the president will get what he wants. But it will be very close."

Bush also has a powerful ally in Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the Senate finance committee. Bentsen, whose conservative handles trade matters, is a strong supporter of free trade with Mexico—as part, his colleagues say, because

## Business Notes

### DE HAVILLAND WINGS ON

Scottish-born Bill Co. at that it reached a deal to sell de Havilland, the manufacturing Canadian aircraft company that it acquired from Otters in 1986 in a complex deal worth up to \$155 million. Details of the agreement with Otters were not disclosed. The deal was announced by de Havilland's president, John W. Co. of de Havilland, the parent of de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada, which is a subsidiary of de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada. The deal was announced by de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada, which is a subsidiary of de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada. The deal was announced by de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada, which is a subsidiary of de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada.

### JOSEPH BURNETT GOES FREE

After 40 years, Canada's longest and most expensive criminal trial ended with the acquittal of Toronto businessman Joseph Burnett in charges of murdering U.S. million in income taxes. Justice Patrick Harteis ruled that although the case against the 54-year-old multimillionaire was "extremely compelling," there was reasonable doubt about his guilt.

### MOVING BEYOND QUEBEC

Laurier Bank of Canada agreed in principle to buy most of the assets, including 37 branches across Canada, of troubled Standard Trust Co. of Toronto for about \$55 million. The deal does not include Standard Trust's \$350 million in bad debt assets and other debt. It is the first major venture for Montreal-based Laurier, the country's seventh-largest bank, outside of Quebec.

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Consistent buyer Procter & Gamble Co. bought cosmetics giant Revlon Inc.'s Mass Factor division and Betina subsidiary in Germany for \$1.3 billion. The purchase will give P&G, which already owns Cover Girl cosmetics, a dominant 30-per-cent share of the \$3 billion North American cosmetics market.

### AIR TALKS TAKE OFF

After months of controversy, negotiations between Canada and the United States began in Ottawa last week to explore a 1974 agreement that restricts airlines to specific cross-border routes. One of the major Canadian concerns surrounding the so-called open-skies negotiations was always that the chief U.S. negotiator, Charles Ageron, announced that Washington was not prepared to give the right to fly between destinations within Canada. An all-party parliamentary committee had warned that giving U.S. airlines unfettered access to Canada could devastate Canada's airlines.





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## A fall from grace

Donald Ripley vows to clear his name

**T**he sparsely furnished office is located in the back of a fourth-floor building in downtown Halifax. For Donald Ripley, the forty-eight-year-old owner of the firm, the office is a place of quiet reflection, a place where he can think about the future of his company.

Wear, Inc., one of the country's leading investment firms, has also served as chairman of the Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative party's finance committee, a role that made him a key ally in Nova Scotia's then premier, John Buchanan. Now 56, Ripley is unemployed and still trying to recover his health after a heart attack brought on last year.

He claims, by stress, that the controversial stockbroker has plans to strike back publicly against the investment industry, which he says is loaded in hypocrisy. Added Ripley, in a recent Atlantic's interview: "No human being deserves to be treated like this after devoting your life to a business."

Ripley has spent the past three years involved in a bitter and expensive court battle to clear himself of accusations by the Investment Dealers Association, which regulates the Canadian investment industry. The association charges that he broke its rules by disclosing confidential information about one of his firm's clients—former federal public works minister Stewart McInnes—and by confabulating outside deals without his firm's knowledge. The fight, Ripley says, has cost him \$400,000 in legal fees, damaged his health and driven him to the edge of bankruptcy. The association's charges say that he is the innocent victim of a "kamikaze card" composed of members of the Bay Street establishment who acted to both judge and jury.

Ripley plans to write a book, set to be published this fall by Leger Publications, a small Toronto publishing house. In the book, Ripley says, he will present evidence supporting his claim to being the victim of a conspiracy by senior Bay Street businessmen. Declined Ripley: "My only crime is refusing to roll over

when the establishment boys told me to."

Despite the power and influence that he wielded, Ripley grew from humble roots. He was born in Kewville, N.S., a town of 18,000 in which his parents operated a shoe store. While still a teenager, he left home to play saxophone



Ripley: "My only crime is refusing to roll over"

professional baseball in the United States and Japan, before returning to Nova Scotia in 1955. Ripley: "Eventually, I realized that I was never going to make it to the big leagues." Soon after, he moved to Kewville, N.S. He then joined Burns Fry Ltd., a salesman in the firm's Halifax office. In 1971, he moved to McLeod Young Wear, also in Halifax, as one of its two brokers in the Atlantic provinces. Soon afterwards, he became one of the company's most successful brokers. With Ripley running McLeod's Halifax operations, the firm emerged as the chief underwriter in most Nova Scotia government bond underwritings. From 1971 to 1988, he also served as a key fund raiser for the Nova Scotia Tories. According to Ripley, the firm earned at least \$5 million in commissions from his brokerage

work for the province between 1979 and 1987.

But Ripley's world began to unravel on June 22, 1987, when Liberal MP Steve Cripps stood up in the Commons and read a sheet of confidential trading records from McLeod's Halifax office. According to Cripps, the documents showed that McInnes, who represented Halifax rising, had breached the government's conflict-of-interest guidelines for cabinet ministers by receiving monthly statements about a stock-trading account that he had placed in a trust. McInnes, who lost his seat in the 1988 federal election, was later re-elected by the office of the federal registrar general.

In the investment community, the biggest issue was not what the documents said, but how they had fallen into Cripps' hands. Both McLeod and the IIA launched investigations. Much of the attention focused on Ripley, who, the IIA said, had provided the information as a result of a "personal vendetta" against Ross Montgomery, a former colleague of McLeod's Halifax office and McInnes' chief fund raiser. Ripley denies that he took it upon himself to investigate, adding: "We're all friends."

A month after the documents became public, McLeod chairman Austin Taylor fired Ripley and agreed to pay him \$1.2 million for his shares in the company. For its part, the IIA refused to end its investigation on condition that Ripley pay it a \$15,000 disciplinary fine and sign a letter acknowledging that he had failed in his duty to supervise the McInnes account. "That could have been the end of it," says Gregory Clarke, the IIA's vice-president of member regulation. But as Ripley told Atlantic's, "I would rather have cut off my right arm than admit to something I didn't do."

Still, Ripley paid dearly for his denunciation. In February, 1990, the IIA's disciplinary committee found him guilty of leaking the documents. It also ruled that Ripley had engaged improperly in "side deals"—selling investments in real estate and mining projects that were neither approved nor known about by McLeod's head office in Toronto. Three months later, the IIA suspended him for two years and fined him \$116,000, which Ripley has yet to pay. And Ripley lost his new job as Atlantic vice-president of McLeod's Halifax Inc., a position that he took after being fired by McLeod.

Ripley staunchly maintains his innocence. He says that in October, he will appeal the ruling before the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. He has also launched a lawsuit against Scott McLeod Inc., McLeod Young's successor, for wrongful dismissal. But regardless of the outcome of his court actions, Ripley says that his business career is over. Stiffing creditors in his Halifax office—where, he says, he spends a few hours every day on his personal affairs—Ripley claimed that his well-publicized troubles and his health problems have made him unemployable. Added Ripley: "I feel that I have wasted my life." For a man who once wielded enormous influence in the business and political life of Nova Scotia, it is a bitter conclusion.

JENNIFER MONTAGNE in Halifax







## Ink-stained riches

Moscow's first business newspaper is a hit

The most common way of judging a newspaper's impact is to review its circulation. Journalists, however, measure only on another metric: the degree to which the paper crosses the widest, and ugliest, of the high and mighty. By either of these standards, the Soviet Union's first business newspaper, *Communist*, or *Pravda*, has scored a striking early success. The lively, 15-cent-a-weekly now claims a circulation of more than 500,000. And the *Moscow Times*, which has already secured the wrath of President Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech to the Soviet legislature in January, Gorbachev targeted the paper during a wide-ranging attack on some corners of his government's military establishment in the Baltic republics. Declared Gorbachev: "All publications from *Pravda* in *Communist* should be destroyed and reflect recent

Gorbachev's criticism, which has placed *Communist* at the opposite end of the political spectrum from *Pravda*, the official organ of the Soviet Communist party, apparently pleased Vladimir Yakovlev, *Communist's* 31-year-old founder and editor. But Yakovlev takes just so much pain for *Communist's* financial performance.

Ries though he dislike the very pain to use more than 40 cents at the official exchange rate, or roughly the same price as a loaf of bread in Moscow) last fall, sales are still climbing. Yakovlev says that each issue now yields a profit of about 123,000 rubles on revenues of 370,000 rubles—a healthy 32-per-cent margin. *Communist* carries a few advertisement in each issue, but most of its earnings come from non-related sales. As well, *Communist's* English-language edition sells about 20,000 copies a week at a hard-currency price of \$2.30. Indeed, *Communist* looks like a Western newspaper, even when he discusses his plans to attract more affluent and powerful readers. "The Russian edition had good sales at the old price," he says. "To go to, in fact, we want *Communist* to be read by upper-level managers, and we must not reaching them."

Whether readers pay in rubles or hard currency, *Communist* provides them with a business-oriented mix of news ranging from political and legal coverage to a detailed and largely unexpedited monthly report on Soviet consumer prices. The report, entitled "Consumer Review," examines the prices and availability of 235 items—everything from bread to specialty



Reading newspapers in Moscow. Yakovlev (below), freely

stocked state-owned stores to imported foods on the black market.

Yakovlev has also introduced several Western editorial and business practices to Soviet journalists. For one thing, *Communist* lives off the free market with little business and without cartoons. And Yakovlev has set up a management structure that has designed to manage each issue. The paper has only six permanent employees—each of these department heads. At first glance, their salaries of \$9,500 a month each might be a little high. But out of that, they have to cover their departmental expenditures and pay salaries from freelance writers.

Yakovlev also provides editors for missing deadlines. "The department recently paid a 15,000-ruble fine for a series of rubles," says Yakovlev. "But the fines are usually much smaller—about 15 rubles a month for missing a copy deadline." The

money, he adds, is channelled back into the paper's general budget.

Despite his youth, Yakovlev had extensive experience in journalism and business before he launched *Communist* in his father, Victor, is the editor of *Moscow News*, a politically liberal weekly that was one of the first newspapers to print stories critical of the Soviet government under Gorbachev's glasnost reforms. The younger Yakovlev has worked for several Soviet publications, including the weekly newspaper *Gazetka* (Soviet). In 1986, he helped found *Fora*, a private Soviet news service.

Yakovlev has not only brought in several friends and colleagues from the West to help get *Communist* running. The *Radio Free Europe* and *Liberty* (a U.S.-based news service) and other equipment to exchange for lost advertising and a share in future profits. Yakovlev, a Soviet Press agent, and source that supplies the Soviet market with goods ranging from medical supplies to business, is another partner. Yakovlev's Moscow representative, James McElroy, says that *Communist* is the only paper that covers the political changes in the country's business climate.

But McElroy and other foreign readers say that there are problems with the *Communist*—many of the articles are too long and the translations are often awkward. In addition to business coverage, *Communist* also carries hard-core reports that many Westerners say are overly graphic. But Michael Steiner, a 30-year-old American who edits the *Communist's* English edition, says that *Communist's* coverage of crime stories is a distinct feature. The bulk of the paper and that editors of both editions are selected to offer it.

Still, Steiner concedes that he was misled in February when a front-page article about Soviet economic prospects in the Russian edition was accompanied by a cartoon depicting a thermometer protruding from a man's buttocks. Steiner says that the cartoon had a similar smaller version of the cartoon on an inside page. Clearly he was misled to believe completely a formula that has produced profits as well as controversy.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

## The thoughts of Chairman Adam

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Adam Zimovskiy, chairman of Novosad Forest Ltd., the Toronto-based, \$50-million wood-products giant, who last week reported that 1995 was the worst year in the company's history, is not typical in his field. He's been tapped up (he speaks) to his annual meeting of shareholders was exactly 2,046 words long, which was what he planned it to be, his power extends to many other aspects (he's also a director of Confederation Life), and he's the second-most powerful man in Canada's company who answers his own phone.

More important, he says exactly what he means. "When you get to a point like this," he told his bleeding shareholders, after reporting a 30-per-cent loss and predicting that the company would do at least as badly this year, "you really do look in the mirror and ask how it happened. The fact that it happened to others is comforting. In our case, we believe that two elements were self-inflicted. One: We went on to explain how the company had overperformed and become overvalued with debt. But being Zimovskiy, he couldn't accept a bit of public policy. Making excessive interest rates and the high value of the Canadian dollar for reducing his company's assets last year by \$184 million—then declaring it was high time to do something about it."

A decline of the value of the Canadian dollar is "absolutely necessary," he said. Zimovskiy added: "Of course, a severe dollar devaluation would have to be accompanied by price and wage controls, as well as a strict freeze on government spending. But I have to live a dual between industry and labor, which is possible, but not very likely. But everybody is so desperately looking for a way out, they might just give it a chance. I have been saying that times for some time and the business has always told me I was right. But now, at least two of them agree with me, which doesn't necessarily make me right. My only consolation is I can't tell the whole world what to do."

*'It's time to admit to ourselves that Canada ain't worth what it was, and to devalue our artificially inflated currency'*

It's almost as though they believe we should just give up for good to our present misery. Surely, it's time to admit to ourselves that Canada ain't worth what it was and to devalue our artificially inflated currency."

Zimovskiy would like to use the dollar drop to about 78 cents (U.S.) and threaten that each cent above that level costs his company \$9 million a year after taxes, while every 100-cent point rise in interest costs about \$4 million after taxes. He would like to use massive adopted money to Sweden's devaluation, which he accompanied by a wage deal between workers and employers, as well as a tax cut on reinvested profits. He points out that forestry is Canada's largest industry, greatest foreign-exchange source and industry employer in 250 communities, yet it is in critical condition. After the meeting, he told me: "During some attacks outside can be broken, as select public policy changes, we are doomed—I wouldn't say to extinction, but certainly to a vast reorganization of our affairs, both as a company and as an industry. For example, we've got our company, Newfoundland in Prince George, B.C., that made \$160 million two years ago, but last year, they probably made \$4 million this year and lost money next year."

It's not only that, the Canadian industry itself is becoming unviable. Declared Zimovskiy: "Pulp from Chilean, Brazilian, Spanish, Portuguese and southern U.S. sources can easily replace large quantities of our own. In the paper markets, Europeans and Americans can replace large quantities of what Canada can otherwise produce. Certainly, all of Canada's fine-paper production could go out of business tomorrow, and nobody would notice."

Zimovskiy is a favorite target of environmentalists. Although he fundamentally disagrees with nearly everything they say, he is willing to debate the issue, instead of hiding behind a public relations flock. Besides, he's an environmentalist himself. Just let anybody try passing a single tree or a plant on his porch (and in some Georgian Bay). He admits that some of the massive forests left behind by his forest companies despoiled the earth, and wants to do the cutting in such a way as to be replaced, though he claims that forests grow old and destroy themselves, and that they can be replaced through replanting. To my customers that you can only replant trees and never restore the ecosystem of a forest, say forest with its vegetation and animal life, he always and reminds me that nobody sincerely understands complexity.

He blames the media for a lot of Canada's troubles. "You get these cookies coming on something they don't know a God damned thing about," he protests, "and because it's in the news, it's supposed to be the truth." But his greatest complaint is to local politicians. "I don't suppose there's a politician anywhere in the democratic world with a brain any larger than mine," he says. "The state is not working in business, but business would go wild without the state. The two will only be brought in line if some long-term strategies are developed. When you look at the economies we admire, like those in Japan, Germany and Scandinavia, you find that they have systems for reconciling the government sector of business and government. We don't."

Referring to the recent European lobbying against Canadian forest products, based on the Canadian companies' clear-cutting practices, he contends: "It's a slap in the face of someone who's been working hard and honestly, but some of these environmental people are basically Luddites and adding in going to change their minds." He added: "At this point, we appear to be caught in an overwhelming downward in the Canadian economy. The government's profligate spending habits have crippled the private sector's ability to grow. Questioners are the people we really ought to worry. They know who they are. If I were starting all over again (Zimovskiy, 64, is due to retire next year), I would choose to be a Quebecois. Being an English-Canadian is to be some kind of outsider. I mean, what the hell are you, if you're a Canadian?"



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# THE MAN WITH THE GOLDEN GUN

He was a handsome young man, with dark, wavy hair and large, captivating eyes. In 1953, at age 24, Gerald Bull looked like a high-school student. But he held a PhD in engineering and was working on a government-supported project to design a Canadian guided missile—which was never completed. His rapid rise was documented in a lengthy profile in the March 1, 1953, issue of *Maclean's*, which stated that Bull "has already won a spot in the upper echelons of Canada's defense scientists." But by the late 1970s, the visionary scientist had become a pariah in his homeland. His futuristic ideas had been rejected by the North American defense-research establishment, and his reputation had been tarnished by a conviction and prison sentence in the United States for selling arms to South Africa. Bull's business empire had collapsed and he was close to bankruptcy. In March, 1980, his life ended when he was gunned down outside his apartment in Brampton. At the time, Bull was attempting to construct a supergun, capable of hitting targets 1,000 miles and more away, for one of the world's most menacing dictators: Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

Just over a year has passed since Bull was killed in Sidra, Qatar, by his wife, Nina, and their seven children. Since then, he has won the fame—and notoriety—that eluded him in life. Shortly after he was murdered, almost certainly by members of the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad, officials at a British port issued a shipment of steel tubes that they concluded were designed as components of a giant gun that Bull was assembling for Iraq. In early January, as the Gulf War approached, defense analysts predicted that 155-mm howitzers, built in Austria and South Africa to a Bull design, would be among the most potent weapons in England's arsenal. However, heavy allied bombing over a period of several weeks led to the defeat of Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait before they could launch a counterattack and use the guns.

Still, much of Bull's life, and his activities as an arms dealer and manufacturer, remain shrouded in mystery. On May 1, *Presson-Bull Canada Inc.* will publish *Dale Groat's Wilderness of Mirrors*, which documents Bull's twisted career, his ticking clock to build the supergun and his questionable dealings with Saddam Hussein. Excerpts from *Wilderness of Mirrors* appear on the following pages.

Born in 1928 in North Bay, Ont., where his father was a moderately successful lawyer, Bull developed into an impatient and determined youth with a temperamental personality. While working on his PhD, which was awarded by the University of Toronto in 1961, he went to work as a research scientist for the Canadian government. He developed a deep distrust of bureaucrats and politicians who, he claimed, impeded or misunderstood his work.

In *Wilderness of Mirrors*, Groat describes an accident during which Bull's finger caught in a mid-1960s meeting with G. M. (Ole) Drury, the Liberal defense production minister who was in charge of funding one of his research projects. Bull told Drury that he had "all the technical competence of a lobster," and walked out. In April, 1961, Bull abruptly left his job with the federal defense research board, where he had worked on a Canadian missile known as the *Nebel Horn*. When a supervisor called him for outgoing telephone calls, Bull retorted, "I'm not paying! I'll give you paperwork," and scribbled his resignation.

But it was Bull's vision of giant guns that could fire missiles—or steady airplanes—into space that turned him into a renegade scientist

and ultimately led to his death. While he was working on Canada's *Nebel Horn* project at a department of national defense research centre near Quebec City, Bull discovered that test projectiles, enclosed in a disc-shaped casing, could be fired from a cannon. He also noted that scientific instruments in a missile could survive the force of being shot from a cannon.

Bull pursued the vision throughout his career. As a professor of engineering science at Montreal's McGill University between 1963 and 1967, he co-directed the institution's High Altitude Research Programme (HARP) program, which was funded primarily by the Canadian government and the U.S. army. At last sites near the Quebec-Vermont border and in the Caribbean, Bull's team launched hundreds of projectiles containing complex scientific equipment into the upper atmosphere. They collected valuable data on climate conditions and on the chemical content of the outer limits of the Earth's atmosphere.



Bull: much of his life remains shrouded in mystery.

When the federal government cancelled the HARP program, largely because there were few potential customers for the technology, Bull turned to weapons development. One of his designs was a powerful 155-mm howitzer that eventually was manufactured in South Africa, Austria and China. A firm headed by Bull also produced heavy-duty shells that could travel farther and possessed more destructive power than conventional shells. Indeed, the first country to realize the potential of Bull's shells, bought 90,000 of them.

Anxious to solve financial problems that arose in his company, Space Research Corp., Bull made a disastrous decision in 1976. He agreed to sell artillery shells and the design for his large howitzer to South Africa, despite

U.S. and Canadian bans on arms sales to that country. Bull arranged to secretly ship 30,000 shells and two howitzer barrels to South Africa. But separate Canadian and U.S. investigations exposed the illegal transaction. Because branches of his firm were registered in the United States as well as Canada, Bull was charged in Vermont, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to a year in prison.

After he was released from the Allentown Correctional Institute in Pennsylvania in February, 1981, Bull became increasingly involved in the shadowy world of the international arms trade. Based in Brampton, he never abandoned his dream of using guns to launch objects into space. *Saddam Hussein*, whose army was well equipped with the Bull-designed artillery and shells, offered the former Canadian his last chance to build a supergun—a project that almost certainly led to his assassination.

Groat, the 46-year-old author of *Wilderness of Mirrors*, is a Toronto-based journalist who specializes in writing about defense issues. He says that he first heard of Bull during the mid-1960s, when his Grade 6 teacher showed him class a newspaper article about the young scientist who described Bull as a Canadian hero. During the 1960s, when Groat was writing about defense-related subjects for Canadian magazines and newspapers, he met Bull but

about a dozen telephone conversations, lasting a total of 10 hours. *Said Groat:* "Some people worshipped the guy and some people hated him. There didn't seem to be much middle ground." In the end, the witless genius from North Bay, with his long-extended dream of a supergun, died exactly who delivered their vengeance in a murderous hail of bullets.



# SHADOW OF A GUNMAN

## THE RISE AND FALL OF A SCORNFUL PATRIOT

By last year, Gerald Ball probably knew that his work for Iraq had put his life at risk. Israeli agents had urged Ball to stop work on the Iraqi supergun, which allegedly could have been capable of firing shells or torpedos in London. When Ball persisted, the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, alleges to have sent two teams of agents to Brussels with orders to kill Ball. In the following excerpt from *Walters on Mirrors*, author Dale Gribble describes Ball's assassination, and the events that led up to it

There is a picture in the files of a hundred media organizations and, no doubt, those of a score of foreign intelligence services, as well. It shows the hallway of a luxury apartment building at 28 Avenue Franklin Roosevelt, in the Docks district of Brussels. Outside the door of a sixth-floor apartment, a vase of flowers stands beside a dark, draped statue, on a carpet that was already red. For the assassin or assassins, it is a final proof that the mission was accomplished. According to the Brussels police, "A person or persons not currently known to the authorities" walked down that hallway early in the evening of March 22, 1984, and fired five shots from a submachine gun into a Canadian businessman who was about to open his apartment door. The body of Gerald V. Ball was still warm when a horrified woman, who was to have posed him for dinner that night, found him some minutes later. The killer, or killers, left behind a corpse with about \$25,000 in his pockets, and a still-unidentified murder rifle, which sparked a series of sensational revelations by the global media about a canon so gigantic it could shoot around the world.

For once, truth exceeded the fantasies of pulp spy thrillers. Tales of "superguns" were followed by reports of secret arms transfers to Third World nations and missile warfare designs for Iraq. The stories led to numerous examinations of the career of a true Canadian pragmatist. National hero and space researcher, weapons designer, control and backup, Gerald Ball was also a multi-millionaire arms dealer and a technical prodigy.

Scarcely a week after his assassination, stories appeared in the British press about a series of gigantic shells being produced in the English steel-mill city of Sheffield. According to the stories, a British company had been involved in a deal that could have given the militarily ambitious Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, access to a so-called supergun, with which he could bombard his neighbor's cities.

The reports emerged just as customs officials searched a ship that had been loading cargo for Iraq at the North Sea port of Middlesbrough. The officers seized a number of popliteal sections—39 inches in internal diameter and fabricated from high-grade steel. Their destination was the "Republic of Iraq Ministry for Industries and Petrochemical Projects, Baghdad, Iraq." But the customs men, and officials from the British ministry of



defense's Royal Armaments Research and Development Establishment, whose advice they sought, were so doubtful that they had an altogether more sinister purpose. The "pipes," they said, were, in fact, sections of a huge gun barrel.

The British customs men had exposed only the tip of an iceberg. As the weeks passed, there were further seizures of heavy steel parts produced to fill orders for Iraq: "petrochemical projects." Components of the gun were found in Italy, Turkey, Greece, Spain, Switzerland and Germany. A mysterious American-based company called Advanced Technology International was found to be co-ordinating the effort. But Gerald Ball's Belgian-based Space Research Corp., and affiliated companies, were soon identified as the suppliers.

And the investigations into his activities continue to this day. Ball was part of a great sea change in human affairs. His activities went beyond the mere sale of cannon-making machinery. Ball was a leader. He was an individualist in a technical era that, for all the 'Starbuckers' about the importance of freedom to the creative and developmental process, demands a collective mind-set. His mind belonged in a past when individual, uncorrupted thought and disturbed brilliance still had a place in Western culture.

While studying for his PhD in acoustics at the University of Toronto in 1967, Ball went to work as a research scientist at the Canadian government's Armaments and Research Development Establishment near Vancouver, Que. There, he became fascinated by military artillery. In 1967, he left Vancouver to become a professor of engineering science at Memorial McGill University, where he began work on a project that became a defining crusade. Ball dreamed of using giant guns, instead of rockets, to fire anti-air and other objects into space.

Ball's arrival at McGill marked the start of a hypergraphic research effort in gun-launched rockets, which would see him as the High Altitude Research Project (HARP) program. For two decades, McGill had been running scientific and agricultural research stations on the Caribbean island of Barbados. Ball gained the enthusiastic support of Barbados Prime Minister Errol W. Burnham, and was given use of a piece of land near Foal Bay, on the southern corner of the island. It provided a 5,000-acre tree range, stretching across the Caribbean Sea and the South Atlantic Ocean, to the coast of Africa.

While five- and seven-inch-diameter launch tubes were also set up to the site, it was the firing of a mighty 16-inch-diameter gun for the first time, in January, 1962, that dominated news. The place-

ing white tube was elevated upward. In the control bunker, reinforced with sandbags and heavy timbers, Ball watched nervously as retired Canadian Army colonel Roy Croft, the range safety officer, fired a final verdict. With a roar that could be heard five miles away, the gun fired and a dramatic mushroom cloud of smoke and fire rose from its muzzle. A crowd of fascinated Barbadians, watching from the nearby bluffs, joined the cheers of the HARP crew. By November, 1962, projectiles shot from these cannons were reaching altitudes of 235,000 feet, proving that electronics could stand up to the high accelerations and still produce useful information.

Compared with the cheapest research rockets at around \$75,000 apiece, exclusive of support costs, the cost of a HARP launch was about \$5,000. By the end of the strongholds program, close to 2,000 shots would be fired. At the time, nearly half the world's database on upper atmosphere conditions was now derived. But George Landry, formerly a senior scientist with Canada's Defence Research Board, "What Ball was promising to do was to put small satellites into orbit first from a gun."

The Canadian and U.S. governments stopped funding the HARP program in 1967. Ball then established his own firm, the Space Research Corp., on the Quebec-Vermont border near Highgate, Que. During the 1970s, after



Ball (in foreground) in Barbados; test-firing a howitzer shell; his genius was acknowledged far and wide

developed a revolutionary new gun named the TC-45 (for *Tan-Cas* Cannon, 45 caliber), which is still considered one of the best land-based anti-air weapons. As well, Ball's firm developed high-performance artillery shells. One of his customers in that period was the Israeli government.

Sometime in November, 1973, Ball made at least two trips to Israel to discuss how his new shell could fit Israeli needs. The Israeli experts were impressed and the Israeli government quickly approved the purchase of 50,000 of Ball's shells. With a firm deal established, Ball and six Israeli officials and U.S. and Canadian governments to approve the manufacture of the shells in North America. By the middle of 1975, the first shipments were on their way to Israel, and before Yom Rippur rolled around again, Palestine Liberation Organisation bases near the Lebanese port of Sidon were suddenly struck by a short but deadly rain of fire and steel. From the beyond the range of any normal gun, artillery batteries wounded supply depots, barracks and training areas, as well as killing and wounding scores of civilians living in the area.

After Yom Rippur, selling artillery and shells in South Africa, a court in Richmond, Va., sentenced Ball in June, 1980, to a year in prison for violating the U.S. embargo against weapons sales to that nation. After



arriving 40 months, Bull was released and took his wife, Nimes, and five of their seven children as a companion to the Caribbean island of Saint Martin. During that holiday, Bull decided he would leave North America for Europe, where he spent the remainder of his life, developing and selling arms.

Reports vary on what Bull did after he left Saint Martin. According to Mike Bull, who remained at the family home in St-Basile, Que., Bull "went to Paris for several months, then to London for several months." Bull still owned his 45 percent interest in SNC-International, which was one company in the SNC group, and there were to be yet further arguments with his Belgian partners.

As his son Michael described it, "After my dad got out of jail, he realized that his partners had taken the opportunity to screw him good. Meanwhile, we had settled down again in Belgium, because we needed a temporary base, and it seemed our to be permanent. In the summer of 1982, we finally decided to finance the divorce from SNC-International. So we set up our own company in Belgium, called Space Research SA. It was just me and my dad for those days, that was the company." From a business perspective, all that was left was Bull's knowledge and research skills.

By the end of the decade, however, Bull's fortunes had changed considerably. On May 30, 1989, Bull wrote to his old MAF colleague, Simon Moller, a professor of anthropology at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Datedated Brussels, the note was headed "The SNC Group of Companies," and listed "G. V. Bull" as president. In the letter, Bull told Moller that "our operations are spread over some eight countries in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Travel is a pain. I live in my home. Secretaries keep track of my appointments have figured out that over the last five years, I have not spent more than 60 days in any one country in a year. This makes me extremely successful in my life."

The company, besides maintaining its headquarters in Brussels, now had offices or subsidiary firms in Austria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain, Switzerland, England, Luxembourg, the Channel Islands—and Canada. The result was a web of deals and contracts that was truly global in scope. Outside of the Bull family members directly involved in SNC's operations, anyone who chose to fully understand what was going on felt it deluded.

Asked when their companies began doing business directly with Iraq, Michael Bull replied "Our first contract, our first real war, business—was, to Iraq was in January, 1986. That was sort of first investigations sort of thing. The first contract became effective in September of the September, 1988." As to the nature of the business, he said, "Well, unfortunately, I can't divulge everything. I'm still under an oath of secrecy."

Other sources have suggested a more intricate relationship between SNC and Iraq, involving an extensive transfer of machine tools, design and technical assistance to the burgeoning Iraqi munitions industry which began at least a year earlier than Michael Bull says. He was evasive on the role SNC played in these transactions, but a nation that was striving every effort to develop military and civilian technology was sure to appeal to Bull.

Then, finally, was a country that was willing to take money, to invest money in a unique way



Bull's supergun near Highwater, Que.: a monstrous cloud of smoke and fire

to arm satellites. Project Babylon, Bull's proposed supergun, the gigantic monolithic cannon whose parts would be discovered all over Europe following Bull's death, is the wildest proof of that dream. In August and September of 1988, when the contracts for Project Babylon were signed between Iraq and Bull, design work began immediately in Brussels.

When was drawing the effort, the Babylon projects were certainly a developmental first. The previous February, SNC placed an order with its former partner and old comrade, a Belgian company called Poudre rifusee de Liege, for 235 tons of a high-energy propellant. An order was also placed for some 36 tons of propellant. So urgently did the client want the material that the last part of the shipment was flown out in a chartered Belgian air force C-130 transport to March. Its destination was Amman, Jordan.

Revealing its beta, SNC also placed an order with the French explosives company which for \$5.5 million worth of similar propellants, which were scheduled for delivery in October, 1990. Bull's death, and the discovery of Project Babylon, led the French government to cancel the sale.

Among the SNC staff assigned to the project was Christopher Conley, a 50-year-old native of Liverpool, England, and an extremely competent metallurgist. Conley would later tell the press that he resigned from SNC in April, 1988, the month that tests of a 350-mm smoothbore artillery tube

system began in northern Iraq.

In 1990, the British customs investigators, with Conley's assistance, soon came to the realization that there were two barrel systems involved in Project Babylon, the 38-mm tube, and a smaller, 350-mm version. With a 27.5-m barrel, "Baby Babylon" would be capable of loading a heavy shell several hundred miles.

As an article on Nov. 7, 1986, the British newspaper *The Independent* reported that American intelligence sources had learned that Iraq had received enough parts to assemble three of these devices, before the customs officials moved in, and that it planned to deploy 75 of them along its border with Iran. It is said that these cannons were to be mounted on railway tracks, enabling them to withdraw into hardened, underground shelters. The weight of the shells was given as 125 lb, and the maximum range as 1,800 miles.

Conley has also revealed some details about the big Babylon program that make startling 13, 1991, by the CBC's French-language public affairs program *Le Point*. Conley told interviewer Anne-Marie Dussault that the 38-mm gun was to be stationed on a mountain-side in northern Iraq, at a location about 70 km northwest of Mosul. Strangely enough, any weapons used for Babylon, Conley said that it would be pointed north, to fire research shells into a test zone in northwestern Saudi Arabia. The distance between the gunning point and the target zone measures out at approximately 430 miles.

It appeared, the giant gun inevitably would have failed its projectors a lot farther than that. For, if one accepts Conley's statements, Bull was, once more, thinking ahead. Plotting the geographic positions Conley gives on a globe of the world reveals an interesting fact: Within the line of any possibilities, from the gun location to the street-level populated center Saudi desert, lies the optimum bearing for insertion into polar orbit.

Because it is difficult to think of a gun as anything but a weapon, the idea that Iraq lay price of pure was some sort of ultra-long-range sniper gun, for chemical, biological, nuclear or conventional high-explosive shells fired against neighbors such as Israel or Iran, will still have relevance. Yet, try as they might, military analysts can find no utility in Babylon as a weapon. A system that weighs 5,000 tons, and whose barrel cannot be trained or elevated into a target, is complex; does not make sense as a weapon, unless one plans to orbit the weapon.

Babylon, like the 1940s launchers of, indeed, the American and Soviet space shuttles, must be seen as a delivery system, capable of delivering a wide variety of payloads into orbit at very low cost. Pioneered certainly

measures satellites and fuel, air or water supplies for manned space missions are possibilities, and so are weapons of mass destruction. It all depends on the user.

Contrary to popular belief, and press reports about Babylon's being a "super-cannon" undertaking, Bull made no effort to hide the project. He even gave interviews about Babylon in 1980, and a scale model of it was publicly shown at a May, 1988, armaments exhibition in Baghdad.

Michael Bull says he warned his father again taking part in the Babylon project. He told him it was an insane move politically, and that the source of outside powers looking at such a system might be severe. Since SNC was already heavily involved in Iraqi military projects, Michael's advice was sound. But, according to Michael, Bull ignored him and went his own way.

Considering that Iraq represented Bull's last chance of ever holding his dream and proving the doubters and skeptics wrong, no one, least of all Michael, could be surprised that he was not the individual, as everyone, there is a devoted inevitability to it all. At 62, Bull was no longer as youthful self and, important as he was, he saw his own mortality, and heard the ticking of the clock. One day in his office to Simon Moller soon it up: "As I get older, everything takes longer, it seems, and works become like days."

Unfortunately for Bull, his timing was once again faulty. Nations, east and west, were waiting up to the last shot Iraq was out of control. It was one thing for Baghdad to acquire weapons for its eight-year war against neighboring Iraq, but it was another thing for Iraq to develop weapons that could hit Moscow or Washington. The question of what Iraq was doing, and who was helping it, was being asked by a score of intelligence and espionage services.

Michael Bull has confirmed reports that his father had aided the University of Mosul in setting up an astrophysics course and had given lectures there. This university is responsible for directing all scientific work on the Saddam S-16 missile development complex, outside of Mosul.

What Bull was actually doing because less important than what others thought he was involved in. Began and he did that he might have been, his ground was acknowledged and was his capability for brilliant investigative and logical, ignored isolation to technical problems was no well-known fact, that, since the missile question arose, his services to Iraq could only arouse deep suspicions in various both far and near.

But, as Michael Bull keeps reminding us, most of this is hindsight and the reporting of opinions and estimations. Back in 1969, the truth, to Bull, must have appeared quite different. His life's dream, the major effort, was no longer a matter of sketches and engineering diagrams. Piece by piece, it was at last becoming a reality. In England, the barrel sections were being Sheffield as regular basis. In Spain, the rollers to support the muzzle tubes were being machined, and in Italy, the breechlocks had already been forged. Switzerland and Germany were providing hydraulic cylinders and other components. Forges were being produced in Belgium and, from Greece, a steady stream of purchase orders and technical data packages went out on a daily basis. And somewhere, a rocket-launcher shell was being designed, and the problems of guidance and telemetry return addressed. It must have seemed like the days of the 1940s project had returned and more, that vengeance was at hand.

Other open areas of difference. In the military, industry of Western and allied intelligence agencies, a series of questions was swirling around Bull's activities. Like any hard activity, the knowledge that inquiries were being made set off investigations in motion. The storm became a hurricane, and Bull's anonymity was under attack. The columns of the *New York Times* even reached Canadian spy-intelligence in

During the Persian Gulf War, Israel urged Bull to stop



Roussin's Iraq was willing to take risks and invest





Germany. As one exiled man, stationed there in 1989, put it, "Everybody was talking about Bill. There was endless speculation as to what he was up to."

Why was Bill seeking information about liquid rocket propellants? Could he really supply Iraq with advanced guidance technologies for ballistic missiles? Just how much help was he giving the University of Mosul's aerospace department? The deadly potential of Bill's genius, so distinct from what he was or was not doing, began to play a larger role in the assessments. What would this man do next? By the beginning of 1990, the questions shifted again. Now, for some, the question became, How is this man to be stopped?

Many theories have evolved about who killed Bill. Rumors have surfaced saying the Iraqi leader had become so fixated on Iraq, or that it was Osama bin Laden, genius of Iraq. But even, and his devoted Mossad intelligence sources, had the last. Considering that Israel has traditionally targeted technology development as the weaklink in the acquisition of weapons, military power by its Arab neighbors, it is the logical candidate.

The Israeli bombing of the Danish nuclear-reactor complex outside of Baghdad on June 8, 1981, is the best-known case of such action, but there have been many others. In the 1950s and early 1960s, the Egypt of President Gamal Abdel Nasser launched an ambitious race, in the end, futile program to develop indigenous ballistic missiles. Many of the Israeli's "scorched-earth" tactics were aimed at Nasser who had ousted on Nasser's missile operations during the Second World War. When missile threats did not deter these men, a series of deadly air-to-air battles, explosions and mysterious accidents did. When the survivors were returned by assigned letters, some found on their beds in tightly guarded Egyptian compounds, that they and their families were sent, enough left to ensure the collapse of the missile project.

Shortly after Bill's death, Saddam Hussein delivered a speech in which he boasted to "them half of Israel" with chemical fire. In the same address, he mentioned Bill. "A Canadian citizen with U.S. nationality comes to Iraq. He is a scientist. He might have benefited Iraq. I don't know. They say the Iraqi intelligence service is spread over Europe. But nobody spoke of the human rights of the Canadian citizen of U.S. nationality. After he came to Iraq, they killed him."

Stories about Bill's supposed meetings with Saddam Hussein are legion. Some experts in Canadian newspapers have said that Bill and Hussein met only in 1981. The Iraqi government supposedly sent a special plane to take him to Baghdad for a clandestine meeting with the Iraqi leader in the



New Bill (second from left) at her husband's funeral people have called him a monster

lack of a Baghdad tailor's shop. Indeed Bill agrees that his father did not Iraq in the year after his release from jail, but says that it was nothing more than an exploratory business trip, and that he did not even work Hussein. Added Bill: "My dad rode on a regularly scheduled Iraqi airplane."

On March 11, 1990, while the press here still raged over Gerald R. Ford's death, his family brought his body home to the cemetery he had tried so hard to make a leader in technology. The worried parent, the boy who had dreamed his dreams in an apple orchard, and board pleasure in the sleek shapes of model aircraft, was escorted at last to the soil from which he came. That it was a country which, in its own blindness, way, had driven him away, was no longer of any consequence.

Bill met rest at a cemetery in Illinois. Qat. His passing was mourned by some people that the hundreds who attended his funeral. Thousands of men and women who worked with him, who knew him, or just understood the wide range of his dreams, grieved over his passing.

Others were not so charitable. People have called him a monster—a mass murderer—an instigator of death. Derek Blackburn, a New Democratic Party member of Parliament and Ontario MPP-defence critic, struck a common chord when he said "People who design weapons are morally deficient. A person like that is more than a drug dealer."

Such harsh criticism may serve to obscure the element of tragedy in Bill's life. He possessed a brilliant scientific mind, energy and a talent for innovation. But Bill could not accept the restriction of his dreams by the North American defense establishment. By selling his services to Iraq, he set the stage for his own violent death. His assassination or death by many rifles unanswered, not least of all the ongoing question of whether others may take up work as a spyware where Bill left off. □

A section of the Iraqi gun just chance



# ALLERGY AWARENESS

AN ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT TO THE APRIL 22, 1991 ISSUE OF MACLEAN'S MAGAZINE

## ALLERGY CONTROL BEGINS AT HOME

**A**llergies: most people think of allergies as something fairly simple — sneezing or wheezing. Allergies are significantly more complicated than that and can range in severity from annoying to life-threatening.

There are so many possible triggers, so many symptoms, so many myths. The focus of this article is practical information to help allergy sufferers cope with this chronic disease, remembering that

ALLERGY CONTROL BEGINS AT HOME!

genes that are around all year long, indoor moulds and house dust. There are several simple things that can be done to control allergies in the home and give allergy sufferers a great deal of relief.

Pollen is clearly difficult to avoid outdoors. Since most pollen pollinates early in the day, plan to do outdoor chores in the afternoon or evening. The key to control is to keep allergens out of the house by keeping doors and windows closed. Since pollen seasons occur during the warm months, an air conditioner will keep the house at a comfortable temperature even though windows and doors are closed. Air cleaners will eliminate most allergens that go through them.

House dust control is most effective in the bedrooms since that's where you spend the majority of your time. Dust allergy is a sticky reaction to dust mites, microscopic insects that nest deep in skin and hair particles. The best control is enclosing the mattress in a vinyl or plastic cover. There are special anti-dust mattress and pillow covers available.

The reduction in the population of dust mites is also very helpful because a hard surface is much easier to keep clean and dust mites can't live on it. A central vacuum is a good idea, largely because not as much dust is stirred up as it escapes into the house. The vacuum may be beautiful, but the ambience and allergens in the filtered air are environmental contaminants.

If there are allergies in the family, it's essential not to get a pet. If allergies to animals do develop, the only truly effective method of avoiding allergic reactions is to give the animal away. Keeping the pet out of the bedroom is only a partial solution as dander clings to clothes

## HAY FEVER (RHINITIS)

**H**ay fever, or rhinitis as it is properly called, is the most common type of allergic reaction. The symptoms are very obvious and very uncomfortable: a runny, itchy nose, bloodshot, itchy, watering eyes, excessive sneezing. Rhinitis can be seasonal or it can occur year round.

The seasonal rhinitis is caused by airborne plant pollen from trees, grasses and weeds. In Canada, ragweed is the most common cause of seasonal rhinitis. Ragweed pollen is microscopic and can be carried by the wind for more than 300 km. These pollen, grass pollen and outdoor moulds also make their contribution to the seasonal varieties of hay fever. Perennial rhinitis is triggered by aller-









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adherent. Fat reduction is beneficial for adults. However, babies need fat and oils in their diets. Some babies with mild eczema start to look so much better in their diet. There's some improvement with the addition of a tablespoon of vegetable oil in their daily diet.

Two sets are often accompanied by a dramatic drop in blood pressure causing shock, leading to unconsciousness and then death if left untreated. The most common triggers of anaphylaxis are:

- Foods such as peanuts, nuts, fish,

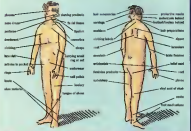
medicinal help at a hospital. There is a new, wider recognition that anaphylaxis is a growing problem. Anaphylaxis used to be considered a rare condition, however, this assumption has been questioned in the face of the rising incidence of anaphylactic related deaths. Methods are being undertaken to obtain statistics on the incidence of anaphylaxis. It is believed that one in 300 Canadians is affected.

It is necessary to spread this new recognition of the problem to areas beyond medicine. A recent study showed that out of seven food-related anaphylactic deaths occurred outside the home. This means that sufferers are at risk every time they eat away from home. A lack of adequate ingredient information in the most logical source: foods eaten at home can be perilously increased through careful reading of the ingredient listings on the preparations if foods bought at the grocery store. Foods eaten at restaurants and cafeterias involve an even an employee do not yet carry ingredient listings.

The only way to cope with anaphylaxis is to avoid the triggering agent ALWAYS. Other allergies can change in severity but anaphylaxis seems to be a lifelong condition.

Avoiding foods is difficult, and it is very dangerous to experiment. If penicillin or any other drug is the triggering agent, be sure to wear a Medic Alert bracelet. Mention the drug allergy every time a prescription is written and again when it is filled. Insect stings are also hard to avoid. Wear shoes and avoid potential insect stings such as wearing long and sleeves brought whenever possible. Exercise, but do so with a buddy and stop as soon as any symptom, especially hives, occurs. If you have ever had an anaphylactic reaction, obtain a prescription for an epinephrine (adrenaline) kit and carry it everywhere, at all times.

## Location Of Rash As A Clue To Its Cause



## ANAPHYLAXIS

Anaphylaxis is the deadliest allergic reaction. Anaphylactic reactions usually involve the entire body. Symptoms include two or more from the usual allergy symptom categories:

- asthma, including difficulty breathing;
- digestive problems, including nausea, vomiting, diarrhea;
- skin reactions, including hives, swelling of the mouth or face;
- rhinitis, including runny nose, itchy eyes.

This combination of two or more symp-

tomatous, eggs and anaphylaxis:

- medications such as penicillin or aspirin;
- insect stings from a bee, wasp or hornet;
- exercise.

These reactions require immediate emergency medical attention. The time span from exposure to death can be as little as 15 minutes.

Because of the quickness and severity of anaphylaxis, doctors prescribe emergency kits containing adrenaline. The same medications that is given in hospital in such cases. The purpose of the kit is to prolong life long enough to seek

## Questions? Get answers — free — by phone in May.

Allergy Information Association does not provide cures, but we do provide an extensive service that can help you better understand your allergies. And during May, you can better understand them by calling us toll-free from anywhere in Canada at 1-800-665-4856. We'll be on the line to answer your questions May 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29 and 30, between 12 noon and 5 p.m. Eastern time each of those days.

You can also get information in the following ways:

- By ordering information letters. We have over 40 of these. Write to Allergy Information Association for a order form and price list.
- By becoming a member of Allergy Information Association. The membership fee is just \$25.

Contact:  
Allergy Information Association,  
Suite 10,  
45 Tavely Drive,  
Etobicoke, Ontario,  
M9B 5Y7.



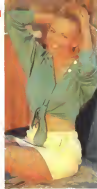


## HOLLYWOOD TRASHED

The author of the Hollywood fetterle book *You'll Never Eat Lunch in This Town Again*, Julie Phillips, relies on applesauce. Phillips, 47, a former movie producer whose credits alone ended that career, describes Goldie Hawn as "hardcore dirty," Warren Beatty as "greasy" and entertainment mogul David Geffen as "the most money-obsessed person I know." These details, from an author who says that she relied on "to sell books," have made *Lunch* a best-seller. Dubbed Phillips "These are all the people who wake up in the morning and say, 'Are they going to find out I'm a fraud today?'"



Phillips: write tattling Lunch to 'sell books'



## Rolling for roles

American actress Diane Lane says that good screen roles for women are depressingly rare. Said Lane, who is co-starring in Vancouver with her husband, Texas star Christopher Lambert, in the psychological thriller *Knight Moves*: "My husband produces, so perhaps I'll get something done that way. The women who get the good roles are extremely lucky—like *Pretty Woman*. These thousand people—I mean everybody I know screamed for it, including me." Lane, 36, who starred in *The Cotton Club* and *Storm of Fear* added: "You wouldn't believe the number of famous people who relied on me in their underwear for that job."

Lane: no good roles



Earth Day 1990, in Ottawa: accusations that it has become a marketing vehicle

## ENVIRONMENT

## Earth Day omens

Critics say that the event is endangered

As one of the estimated 200 million people who participated in Earth Day events around the world last year, James Ross of St. John's, Nfld., said that he was eager to join in again. The 10th anniversary of Earth Day, which was first held on April 22, 1970, generated marches and demonstrations by environmentalists in Canada, the United States and 138 other countries last year when Earth Day events took place in 120 countries. The event will apparently have a marketing edge, however. Environmentalists say that large corporations, some of which were the targets of protests last year, now are becoming involved in the event to show that they too are concerned about the environment. At the same time, some Earth Day supporters say that this year's event may be seriously subdued in some parts of the country. "It took me two months just to find out where Canada's Earth Day organization was," said Ross, who is co-ordinator of the Newfoundland and Labrador Environment Network. "It has really gone back to a local-scale event."

Despite that, Earth Day events were planned in most Canadian cities. The scheduled activities include a Walk for Peace in Vancouver, a festival in Calgary's Prince's Island Park and a parade in Montreal. In Toronto, Danny Beaton of the Malvern St. Notman played a three-day event called Project Indigenous Restaurant, which he said would recycle native leaders from both North and South America. As well, Earth Day Canada, the Toronto-based organization that is co-ordinating the event, has now begun surveying 250,000 households across the country to assess the impact on the environment of routine domestic activities, including the use of energy, household cleaning products and garbage disposal.

At the same time, some environmentalists say that the original purpose of Earth Day is being undermined by commercialization of the event. Said Gordon Parks, a campaigner for Toronto-based Greenpeace Canada: "Instead of a day to focus on among the planet, it has become a marketing vehicle for the companies that destroy it." McDonald's Restaurants of Canada said that it has contributed about \$10,000 and is sponsoring Earth Day on recycled-paper napkins for the next two weeks. Other sponsors include the Ontario Ministry of the Environment and the Toronto-based Delta Hotel & Resorts, which provided accommodations

for the event. In Montreal, the official sponsor of Earth Day International Inc., said that companies that want to use the name will have to pay an average royalty of eight per cent in gross sales to it, which will distribute a portion to Earth Day organizers for use in Earth Day activities. "I see a parallel with the Olympics," said Gosselin. "If you want television, you can't just hand out the license to anybody."

Some environmentalists criticized the organization for making contact over the issue. Said John Langer, executive director of the Ottawa-based Canadian chapter of the environmental organization Friends of the Earth: "It puts limits on an event that is supposed to be super participatory." Despite the controversy over how Earth Day should be run, supporters say that the event can still help to reverse awareness of environmental issues. Said Jay Wee, Earth Day co-ordinator for British Columbia: "The environment is there, but the focus is on what we can do, not just what is wrong with the environment." Still, he says to have the event into a highly organized affair appeared to carry the risk that some supporters might become disillusioned—and eventually abandon the annual festival.

DOANE BRADY

## Weird water

Calgary swimmer Mark Tewksbury returned home last week with the World Cup basketball title, a world record for the 100m basketball—and a healthier swimmer. Tewksbury, who has finished in first overall event in the five-week event, which turned out swimmers, said that the Winnipeg pool had "some kind of strange filter problem." Explained Tewksbury, 23: "The water was green because of too much chlorine and it stunk. It looked terrible—everyone screamed when they saw it—but actually it tasted really good. And I'm sure it made my teeth stronger."



Tewksbury: 'strange filter problem'

## Inspiring some funny imitations

British pop singer Robert Palmer says that he is no longer addicted to models. The videos for his last songs *Admitted to Love*, *Simply Deep* and *I Didn't Mean to Turn You On* in the mid-1980s all featured attractive

but expressionless gender-playing female models wearing identical tight dresses and hairstyles. They inspired an onslaught of parodies. Both rock musician David Lee Roth and rap singer Teena Lee have imitated them. TV's Saturday Night Live produced a scathing skit. And most re-



Palmer: getting attacked

cently, singer Michelle Shocked used male models performing the same function. Now, Palmer has a new album, *Don't Explain*. But there are no female models in his recent videos. Said the 42-year-old singer: "It was getting a bit irritating, to the point that my mind crew had to have 'No, the girls aren't here' written on their shirts."











Business and school boards, receive government rebates for four-streets of the tax, most have not made part of their book-buying budgets to cover the other three-streets. And several industry officials said that the federal rebates may end up in actual boards' general revenues, rather than being earmarked for books. Said Hoshan: "My guess is that these funds have turned into windfalls for the coffers of those institutions." At the retail level, meanwhile, no compensation figures are yet available as the CIP's effect on buyers, but several booksellers that Markham's contacted said that sales had dropped by up to 20 per cent from a year ago.

For his part, Roy MacKinnon, a policy consultant with the Association of Canadian Publishers, claims that widespread unease over the upcoming free trade discussion among Canada, the United States and Mexico could jeopardize Ottawa's support for Canadian culture. Although the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement exempts book publishing and other cultural industries, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills has said that she wants to change that in the new round of negotiations. Said MacKinnon: "My fear is that this time, the United States will get a sympathetic hearing." Political divisions within Canada may also pose new challenges to publishers. They express the concern that with Quebec demanding cultural protection over its cultural sector, Ottawa may relinquish control over the area, and there will be no central authority left to protect their interests.

But there may be encouragement for the industry in one province: Ontario, where the seven-member HST government will deliver its first budget in a few weeks. According to Markham's publishing adviser, Sherrill Chisholm, the minister is working to persuade cabinet colleagues to approve a new agency, modelled on the Ontario Film Development Corp., that would finance the operations of Canadian-owned books and periodical publishers in Ontario. That money would be in addition to about \$2 million in annual loan guarantees and more than \$4 million in grants that the province currently provides.

Canadian publishers say that unless governments come to the rescue with such programs, the country's book culture could wither. Stodard and others acknowledge that they are already concentrating on better-known authors at the expense of newcomers. And if things get worse, there may be fewer firms that specialize in the work of minority writers. Last month, Ontario-based Oberon Press announced that it may have to close after three years of losses and a 30-per-cent cut, to \$60,000, in its Canada Council funding for 1991 in its 24-year history, under the guidance of former Maclean's Managing Editor. Oberon has produced more than 400 Canadian writers and launched such authors as David Adams Richards and W.P. Kinsella. Those accomplishments point vividly to the loss that Canada will experience if the publishing industry does not recover from its present depressed state.

VICTOR DUBIER



Townsend (foreground) and the Heartbeats, seen by conflicting responsibilities

## FILMS

# Motown disharmony

*A gifted director sounds an off-key note*

THE FIVE HEARTBEATS  
Directed by Robert Townsend

Robert Townsend's first feature film, *Hollywood Shuffle* (1987), brilliantly satirized the movie industry's treatment of black actors. As writer, director and star of that far, made-for-TV \$100,000 Townsend attacked Hollywood from the outside with such fear that he earned an opportunity to work on the inside. With Spike Lee, he now belongs to the sacred ranks of black filmmakers who have directed movies for major studios. Townsend's new feature, *The Five Heartbeats*, made for 20th Century-Fox, is the sprawling saga of a fictitious black vocal group similar to the Temptations. Sadly, it tries to be too many movies at once: musical comedy, a serious drama, an urban history lesson and a meaty slice of nostalgia. The components do not harmonize.

The scale of Townsend's ambition is evident from the opening scene: It is 1956. The Heartbeats nervously take the stage at a talent contest without their lead singer, Eddie (Michael Wright), who is devoted to a guitar game. Posing like a violent assassin, Eddie steps through a plate-glass window, gets shot in the leg and hurls off a moving car before reach-

ing the club, where he slides onto the stage just in time.

It is a wonderfully improbable sequence, but the movie does not live up to its giddy spirit. Instead, it gets bogged down in the soap-opera lives of its five protagonists. Most prominent are Duke (Townsend), the group's sensitive songwriter, his brother, J. T. (Lance), an incorrigible womanizer, and Eddie, who risks his career for cocaine. The love script traces the rise and fall of the Heartbeats over several decades. A composite history, the story definitely dramatizes the mistakes that black musicians have suffered, ranging from prize harassment to the virtual death of scraps by unscrupulous record company executives.

The actors playing the Heartbeats do not sing their own vocals, but some of their stage performances are electrifying. And in some scenes, Townsend seems on the verge of pulling the movie into full-scale musical comedy.

Instead, water gives way to melodrama, then to sentiment. In his first Hollywood movie, Townsend seems torn by conflicting responsibilities. *The Five Heartbeats*—a Motown morality play dressed up as Hollywood entertainment—never finds its own rhythm.

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The young Picasso drew art from anguish



Acselot and Young Harlequin (1905): emerging genus

**I**t was only for 200-year-old art lovers that Pablo Picasso survived his five-year residency in a ramshackle cluster of Pirene studios nicknamed the *Ateneu Barro* (‘barren house’). The upturned Spanish artist, who there is said to have ‘lived and created’ some of his early masterpieces, said his sequel, Picasso himself recalled that one Henriau Laroux ‘tumbled to his death above a vestibule shaft’ while trying to clear snow off a skylight, another had to leave a malfunctioning stove out of a copper window to avoid a fire.

*A Life of Picasso*, a projected four-volume series, British biographer John Richardson, chronicles the early years of Picasso, who died in 1973 at age 94, in unprecedented detail. He credits the Laroux’s ‘stencil’ as ‘indirect, as well as cut-and-paste’, and covers the artist’s ‘early years in the studio’, and ‘the completely evocative death’ at a ‘dramatic’ moment.

Over the years, Picasso subsequently accrued a number of less talented artists into his acolytes and seemed to neglect their subordinate status. One of the first was Carlos Casagemas, a young dandy who was part of the artist's circle in Barcelona in 1890, and who went with him to Paris a year later. Although Picasso became aware of his friend's increasing mental instability, he threatened him; in 1891, Casagemas committed suicide after the woman he loved spurned him. Guilt over Casagemas's death was a driving force behind what has come to be known as Picasso's Blue Period (1881-1900).

on Photoshoppers were  
certainly broad, in that to  
the capturing—and self-  
mythologizing—artist. In  
1988, Greek-born American  
Stavros Niarchos, who  
ventured to the other extreme  
with *Picasso Creators and Destroyers*, a scoundrelous book  
that looked on the artist's  
misreatment of his wives,  
mistresses and children.  
Richardson, who became  
friends with the artist in  
1953, a time when both men  
were living in southern

Richard's first volume is a 600-page primer, it covers the young Thomas's maturing process, but stops before he passed his 1907 masterpiece, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, an emotionally stylized canvas that presaged the revolutionary Cubist movement. Added by hundreds of black-and-white reproductions and drawing on research contributed by historian Marilyn McClellan, Richardson serves up a convincing collection of facts—filing occasionally to season them with enough insight. Still, the book generates anticipation for its sequel, an encounter with Picasso hovering on the brink of a 20th-century trial of greatness. Richardson has proven that he has the right stuff to do justice to such a momentous life.

PAMELA YONGE

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- 1 *The Secret of Kell*, *Riddings*
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- 3 *The Druid of Shannara*, *Brooks* (1)
- 4 *Never Seen in Foreign Country*, *Carson, Womack* (5)
- 5 *The Secret Pilgrims*, *in Carol* (4)
- 6 *Chicago Loop*, *Thomas* (2)
- 7 *Northeast, Wind* (1)
- 8 *Bungalo in la Casa*, *Mortimer* (10)
- 9 *The Old Gatekeepers*, *Green*
- 10 *The Stories of Ben Luen*, *Aldridge*

## NONFICTION

- 1 *Iron John*, *My* (3)
- 2 *Life After Death*, *Morley* (15)
- 3 *By Heart*, *Sublette* (2)
- 4 *Shimmering*, *Bruckner* (2)
- 5 *The Spy Who Came from Nowhere*, *Alm* (1)
- 6 *You'll Never Eat Lunch in the Town Again*, *Phillips* (4)
- 7 *The Power*, *Virgin* (2)
- 8 *A Life on the Range*, *Perce* (5)
- 9 *A Life of Passion*, *Richardson* (5)
- 10 *The Beauty Myth*, *Wol* (1)

- **Features that work**

Consulted by Helmut Rothmann





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## BY ALLAN FITZGERALD

The country is falling apart. Unemployment is rising. Manufacturing plants are firing across the border. The CRT drives us wild. The Nazis make us weep. Garbushes versus doomsd John Crow doesn't know what he's doing. Neither does the Prime Minister. Prerio Manning wants a showdown with Quebec. George Bush proves he's a wing after all. There seems no hope for any of us.

Out of the gloom comes one piece of good news. Donald Trump is in serious financial trouble. For a world that has so little to cheer, that is tremendously heartening. If the most audacious man on the public scene has a case of the shorts, there may be hope for the rest of us, after all.

Trump, so full of himself just three years ago when he bought the famous Plaza Hotel for \$380 million, now wants to convert it into condominium units to get some badly needed cash. The Plaza? Turned into condo city? It's somewhat like converting Buckingham Palace into a hotel, filled with thousands of sleeping bags.

These thoughts come while in Montreal contemplating the rising state of weather gear: one of similar dignity and tradition. The Ritz-Carlton, one of the symbols of the city, seems to have come down with the wheat. The snip, crackle and spark has gone out of it. There is a noxious air to the staff and service.

Just as the Plaza, sitting at Fifth Avenue and Central Park, commands the best site in Manhattan, the Ritz-Carlton on elegant Skarbovsk Street has been a landmark for those who like a hotel with old-fashioned style that does not feature 300 perfectly matched Japanese mat-cases parked in the lobby.

The Westmore saghephouses who once ruled the town walked down the slope of Mount Rayn for cocktails and led the wedding receptions of all their daughters staged there. The doorman knew most people who counted from the mayor. The room keys weigh more than a pound of butter.

The famed Maritime Bar is the basement, home of some of the most raucous trysts of



our time, is closed. The light restaurant on the same level is closed. Even worse, the Ritz Garden is closed.

The Rita Garden, once the spring snow had cleared, used to be the best place in Canada. The finest feature was the pond in the middle where, early each season, a monstrous duck paddled about with her half-dozen or so ducklings. Patrons under the striped marquee, sipping their wine and exchanging Montreal gossip, fondly watched the growing youngsters all summer. At the end of the summer, they were taken out to the kitchens and the diners ate them.

The Plaza, only 19 stories tall, opened in 1907 and has ever since proved itself as being the playground of the rich and frivolous. Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt was the first guest to sign the hotel register. Jay Gould kept an opulent suite. Today, its most expensive standard suite goes for \$1,400 a night. Though there is the Presidential Suite, which rents for \$15,000

right and comes equipped with a butler, a maid, a chef, catered dinner for up to 12 and a chauffeur-driven Rolls-Royce limousine.

The Brits, in its salad days, didn't have Vanderbilt and Gould, but it did have Bruce Mulhoney and Nordecca Richley in the Maritime Bar. That was when the present Prime Minister was in his drinking days, a man who made an art out of the three-hour lunch.

Bodley's City residence is just across the street in a Sherbrooke apartment building the same size and shape as the Château Laurier, and boy does, then president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada and plotting the death of Joe Clark, had his often a mere step away. On their latter afternoons, they created many a legend in the cozy atmosphere of the pathologically legendary Maritime Bar. For all we know, their long absence may be the reason the joint is currently deserted.

Now the word around is that the Ritz owners would like to convert it into condominiums—which at any Newfie can tell you is a real estate last-control system. Condos, just like Trump and the Plaza. The same disease has just closed the Windsor Arms, the most elegant little hotel in Toronto, which used to have the best restaurants in that self-absorbed dining city.

The Ritz only one story, was like just lease keeps creeping up the anchor of Shattuck, the last striding and people-watching street in the country, with the Montreal pedestrians who do not so much dress as display themselves.

Art galleries abound. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, at the moment displaying Pierre Cardin, is just on the street. Huit Rev-

few is nest door. The restaurant-and-barreling of Crescent Street is just around the corner. Everything is walkable. The most elegant and convenient residential section of Canada is on the slope of the mountains, able to walk it to work.

We do not know if the troubles of the Rat signify the changing personality of Marnet and the fleeing of the assigned anglophones who do not like the look of the new pouffed hairstyle of Jacques Parusa, his handlers convincing him to abandon the 1939 Brillantine look.

We simply do not know. We do not know a lot of things these days, days when Frosty Nann may appear as crashed in Leichte Beaches. We only know that when the Ploos goes and the Wember Arroz goes and the Ritz goes, there will be a sweeping in some quarters.

We know that Manderan will raise a glass.  
And Brian will raise a Ferner. The only people  
happy will be the ducks.

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